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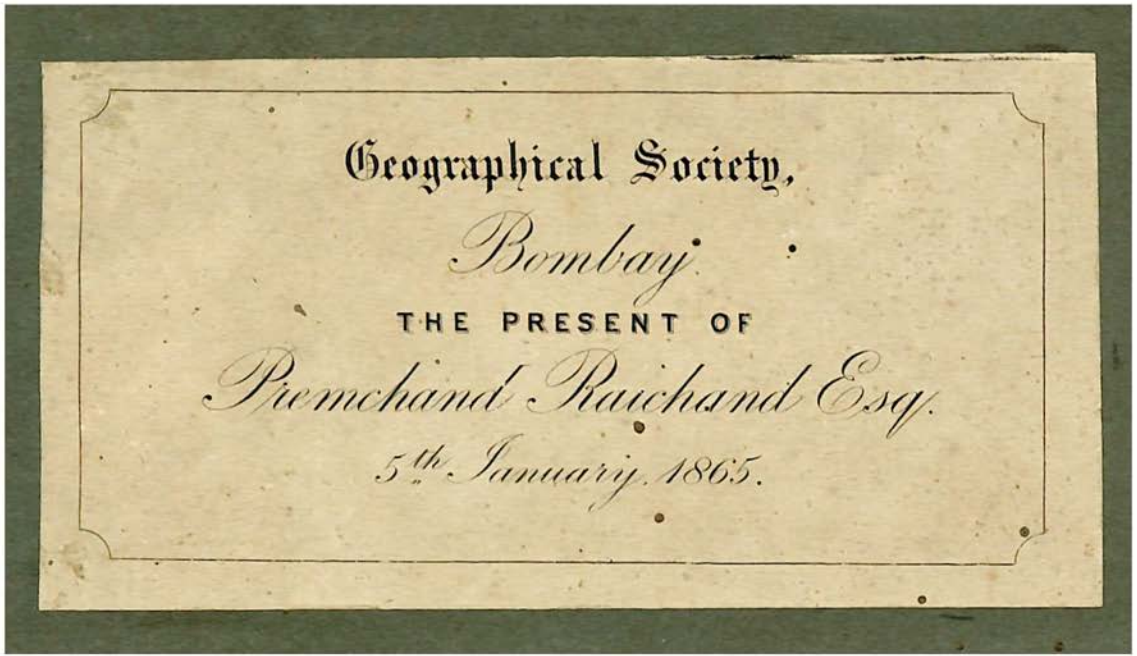

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ARRIAN's HISTORY OF Alexander's Expedition.

Tranſlated from the *GREEK*.

WITH NOTES *Hiſtorical, Geographical,* and *Critical.*

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By Mr. *ROOKE.*

In Two Volumes.

VOL. I.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY.

To which is Prefix'd,

Mr. *LE CLERC*'s CRITICISM *upon* QUINTUS CURTIUS.

And ſome REMARKS upon Mr. PERIZONIUS's Vindication of that AUTHOR.

LONDON,

Printed for T. WORRALL, at the *Judge's Head* in *Fleet-ſtreet*; J. GRAY, at the *Croſs-Keys* in the *Poultry*; L. GILLIVER, at *Homer's Head* in *Fleetſtreet*; and R. WILLOCK, at Sir *Iſaac Newton's Head* in *Cornhill.*

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TO THE

KING.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

SIR,

TRUE Hiſtory, like a faithful Mirrour, gives Princes, as well as private Men, an exact Repreſentation of the Tranſactions of paſt Ages; but if Partiality infatuates the Hiſtorian, or Prejudice overballances his Judgment, his Images appear monſtrous and unnatural, and we loſe the

only Benefit we hoped to reap from his Labours.

The Story I now preſume to lay at Your MAJESTY'S Feet, is no leſs than the Fall of the vaſt *Perſian* Empire, and the Eſtabliſhment of the *Grecian*, upon its Ruins. No Period of Time was ever more famous: No General ever puſh'd his Conqueſts ſo far in ſo ſhort a Time, nor over-run ſo many Countries with ſo ſmall a Force. None had a more numerous Race of Writers, to recommend his Acts to Poſterity; but the greateſt Part of their Compoſitions was either Panegyrick or Satire; for none durſt write the Truth concerning him, while he lived, and few ſeem to have had an Inclination to it, after his Death. Theſe, and the like Conſiderations, moved our Author to undertake this Hiſtory, wherein he has drawn a more natural and lively Pourtraiture of Him, than any of the reſt, and painted his Vices, as well as his Virtues, in their proper Colours. This, added to his Judiciouſneſs and Impartiality, has gain'd him ſo high an Eſteem in the World, that the greateſt Princes, in different

different Ages, have deign'd him their Protection. *Hadrian*, and *Antonine*, the Emperor *Sigiſmond*, *Alphonſus* King of *Aragon*, and *Coſmus* the late Duke of *Tuſcany*, are Inſtances of this: They all approv'd, and patroniz'd his Works; and I flatter myſelf, that if the Preſent I now offer, fail of Your MAJESTY's Acceptance, it muſt be on Account of the Unworthineſs of him who offers it. It would be highly injurious to Your unſpotted Character, to pretend to draw any Parallel between *Alexander* and Your MAJESTY. But as his miſtaken Greatneſs may ſerve as a Contraſt to Your real Goodneſs, I think it my Duty to take a ſmall Sketch of each, and ſhall ſubmit the Juſtice of what I advance to the Judgment of every unprejudic'd *Briton* within Your Dominions.

He firſt compleated the Slavery of his own Country, and then ſet Forth to lay his Yoke upon the Necks of Foreigners: He trampled upon the Rights of all Nations where-ever he came, and nothing Sacred or Profane eſcap'd the Fury of his Arms. Fire and Sword were the conſtant

Atten-

Attendants of his Expedition, and Deſolation and Ruin followed his Footſteps: His reſtleſs Ambition aim'd at no leſs than Univerſal Sovereignty, and he waded thro' a Sea of Blood to obtain it. No Rocks nor Mountains could ſtem the Torrent of his Rage; No Rivers, Seas, nor Deſarts, check his dreadful Courſe: Millions of Lives were ſacrific'd to his Glory, and vaſt Cities turn'd to a Wilderneſs, to raiſe him a Name. What he beſtow'd laviſhly upon ſome, he had, before, wreſted unjuſtly from others, and his Height of Rapine only made Way for his Exceſs of Prodigality. His beſt Friends often found the ſame Treatment with his worſt Enemies, and when inflam'd with Wrath, or Wine, he ſometimes ſlew thoſe, whom in point of Gratitude, as well as Policy, He ought to have ſaved.

How widely different from this, nay, how directly oppoſite to this, is Your MAJESTY'S Character! As the Knowledge of Mankind has been Your peculiar Study, the Good of Mankind is Your principal Care. You have no Notion of conquering Kingdoms, but to preſerve their Inha-

Inhabitants from Tyranny and Oppreſſion, and are more ambitious to be ſtil'd Arbiter of *Europe*'s Differences, than to be declar'd Lord of its Liberties. Your Name will ſhine brighter in *Britiſh* Annals by preſerving the Rights of Your own People, than if You were to carry the Terror of Your Arms as far as the *Helleſpont*, and make as extenſive Conqueſts in the Weſtern World, as *Alexander* did in the Eaſtern. However, Your Skill is not confin'd to the ſofter Arts of Peace; You have appear'd in Arms for the Cauſe of Liberty already, and the ſame Cauſe will invite You forth again. You have engag'd Your Self to defend us from Foreign Foes, as well as from Domeſtick Factions, and have aſſured us, that Your Sword ſhall procure us Peace, whenever Treaties are found ineffectual. How happy then might we be, could we but be ſenſible of our own Happineſs! How ſhould we prize that Monarch, who places his only Intereſt in our Safety! Your Exactneſs in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, Your conſummate Wiſdom, and the Mildneſs of Your Sway, endear You to all who bear any Regard to their Coun-

try's

try's Welfare, and You will reap more true Glory from Reigning over the Hearts of one Kingdom of Free-born Subjects, than by trampling upon the Necks of a World of Slaves.

I am, with the moſt Profound Submiſſion,

May it pleaſe Your MAJESTY,

Your MAJESTY's

Moſt Dutiful,

Moſt Devoted,

And moſt Obedient

Subject and Servant,

JOHN ROOKE.

PREFACE.

HAD there been ever a tolerable Hiſtory of Alexander's *Acts in the* Engliſh *Tongue, I had hardly undertaken this; and had this been ever tranſlated into* Engliſh *before, I had ſcarce attempted it again: But as moſt of the Hiſtories of him, in our Language, are full of Errors, Inconſiſtencies, Incredibilities, and Romance, I thought it might be no unacceptable Piece of Service, to preſent the Publick with the trueſt, juſteſt, and moſt accurate Account thereof now extant; and to put this Matter beyond Diſpute, I have taken the Pains to compare ſeveral of the moſt material Paſſages in this Hiſtory, with the Accounts given us of them by other Authors; and as I have no particular Biaſs of Prejudice, Prepoſſeſſion, nor Intereſt, that I am ſenſible of, to incline me one way or another, I preſume, I have ſtated the Caſe, all along, fairly, and impartially, on each Side. The greateſt part of the Knowledge we arrive at, is acquired by comparing Things and Ideas with each other; and if ſo, the neareſt way to it, is by laying*

them fairly together, and making apt and uſeful Compariſons. Before we can juſtly determine the Difference between two Bodies, in Quantity, we muſt know the exact Dimenſions of both; and before we can be ſatisfied of the Difference of two Ideas, in Quality, we muſt form a true Judgment of each. When a conſiderable Number of Authors treat upon one Subject (unleſs they have all copied each other, which ſeldom happens) where-ever one ſeems to run mad, we find another in his Senſes; where one ſleeps, another keeps awake; where one curtails a Story too much, another gives it fully; and where one delivers it in dark and unintelligible Terms, another ſerves to clear up his Meaning, and render him plain and eaſy: In ſhort, where-ever one errs in any Particular, he is either corrected by ſome other, or may be, by a judicious Commentator. This is the Method I have taken, with the Writers of the enſuing Hiſtory; and by this means my Readers will reap the Advantage of conſulting many Authors by looking into one, and have the Subſtance of ſeveral Volumes contracted into the Compaſs of a few Pages. Of almoſt an Hundred and fifty Authors who have handled this Subject, ſcarce Half a Score have come down to our Times, and even the better part of theſe have only touch'd it caſually. The chief of the remaining ones are Diodorus, Strabo, Plutarch, Arrian, Curtius, Juſtin, *and* Oroſius. *Of theſe,* Diodorus, Juſtin, *and* Oroſius *wrote his Acts only tranſiently in their larger Works, and having ſo many Things upon their Hands at once, it is no great Wonder if they be found accurate in nothing.* Diodorus *took much upon Truſt, without ever examining into the Truth*

or

or Credibility of the Facts which he related; He ſwallowed every thing, without digeſting any thing; and Curtius *either copied from the ſame Authors, or, which is much more likely, tranſlated a great part of his Work from him.* Trogus *was either a ſad Hiſtorian, or* Juſtin *a vile Abridger; but as we have the Teſtimony of many famous Men of Antiquity in favour of* Trogus, Juſtin *will ſtand condemn'd as an injudicious Author, and the World would have been highly ſatisfied, if an Hundred ſuch as he had periſh'd, ſo* Trogus *had come ſafe to our Hands.* Oroſius *conſulted* Juſtin *as his grand Oracle, and copied much from him; and when the Fountain is muddy, it is no Wonder if the Stream partake of the ſame Qualities.* Strabo *has intermix'd ſundry excellent Paſſages of* Alexander's *Life with his Geography, which makes us regret the Loſs of the Treatiſe which he wrote upon that Subject: He has alſo given us a juſt Character of many of* Alexander's *Followers, who, to ſatisfy their Monarch's Vanity during his Life, or to gratify their own Inclinations after his Death, publiſh'd ſtrange, and unaccountable Stories of his Exploits. Even* Ptolemy, *and* Ariſtobulus, *(whom our Author chiefly copied) are not always free from this; but as* Arrian *was a Man of a ſound Judgment, he took care to chuſe only what was moſt probable, and left the reſt, as Husks, and Chaff, to be glean'd up by ſuch as were ambitious of ſwelling their Works to a huge Size, by Heaps of all Gatherings:*

——— Quicquid Græcia mendax
Audet in Hiſtoria——— Juv. Sat. 10.

But, Thanks to kind Time, the greateſt part of theſe romancing Gentry are now gone to Reſt, and their Works have followed them. What Calliſthenes *wrote concerning* Alexander, *is long ſince loſt; beſides, he was put to Death before that Monarch had half finiſhed his Expedition.*

Eratoſthenes *was the firſt, ſo far as I can find, who undertook to detect the* Macedonian *Forgeries, and did it to ſo good purpoſe, that* Strabo, Plutarch, *and* Arrian *have ſteer'd after his Light, and thereby reduced their Accounts to Reaſon and Probability, whilſt* Diodorus, Curtius, Juſtin, *and ſome others of inferior Rank, have followed blind credulous Guides, and are perpetually groping and ſtumbling about in Miſts of Error and Uncertainty. Few would, perhaps, have drawn up a better Narrative of* Alexander's *Acts than* Plutarch, *had he deſign'd his Work as pure Hiſtory; but he himſelf acquaints us, at his firſt ſetting out, that he rather endeavours to declare the Springs or Cauſes of Actions, than the Actions themſelves: Beſides, with regard to Prodigies, Omens, &c. he was extreamly credulous, and even his Accounts of Facts are not always carefully given. Many other Authors have preſented us with ſingle Stories relating to this Affair, particularly* Pliny, Athenæus, Philoſtratus, Seneca, Lucian, Polyænus, Frontinus, Ælian, *and others, to whom I have, occaſionally referr'd in the Comment upon the enſuing Work; but as they are well known, I ſhall forbear characteriſing them here. Thus far, I think, I have Truth, and Juſtice on my Side; and I believe I may ſafely affirm, that no antient Author who ever wrote a particular Hiſtory of* Alexander, *now remains,*

remains, except Curtius, *and* Arrian; *and if I have made it evident, that* Arrian *is the beſt, the trueſt, and the moſt accurate Hiſtorian of the two, by ſetting the Truth and Credibility of the ſeveral Facts, as related by each, in a clear Light, I ſhall go a great way in convincing the unprejudiced Part, at leaſt, that my chief Deſign was their Inſtruction: Beſides, this may, perhaps, be a Means of gaining* Arrian *an Eſteem among* Engliſh *Readers, to whom he has hitherto lain wholly unknown. The chief Benefit we can receive from Hiſtory, is by comparing Effects with the Cauſes which produced them; and, as like Effects will always flow from like Cauſes, we may form a pretty good Judgment of future Contingencies, by looking carefully into paſt Events, and learn to regulate our Affairs accordingly. This renders Hiſtory really uſeful to the World, and this ſets the grave, judicious, and exact Hiſtorian above the airy, vain, and empty Romancer; for, if either our Accounts of Cauſes, or their Effects be erroneouſly given, we ſhall form a wrong Judgment concerning them, and inſtead of making ourſelves wiſer by them, we ſhall be immers'd in greater Folly and Stupidity than before.*

As to this Tranſlation of Arrian, *I have done it juſtly, to the beſt of my Knowledge, without endeavouring ſo much at Eloquence in Diction, as thereby to deſtroy the Plainneſs and Simplicity of his Manner of relating Facts. And whenever I have had occaſion to introduce other Authors, in my Comment, I hope I have ſeldom miſunderſtood, miſquoted, miſinterpreted, or miſrepreſented them, to ſerve any ſiniſter Purpoſe of my own. I have generally directed my Readers to the Book, Chapter, or*

Page whence I borrowed my Materials; and I neither deſire, nor expect further Credit than the Vouchers I produce, and the Arguments I uſe, naturally demand. Hiſtorical Facts are not reduceable to Mathematical Certainty; the moſt we can hope for, is, that the Hiſtorian be a Man of Judgment, who will not be impoſed upon, by Fiction himſelf, and a Man of Veracity, who will not impoſe it upon us; and then we may ſafely rely upon him, unleſs ſome other gives us a more probable Account of ſome Particulars; for as Demonſtration cannot be had, every Story will gain Credit with us according to the degree of Probability it bears. I have been no more partial to Arrian, *in my Remarks, than to any other Author: He has been ſometimes overſeen, thro' Haſte or Inadvertency; and if I add, that he is not exempt from human Frailty, it will be no great Diminution to his Credit. He has been much abuſed by ignorant Tranſcribers; and tho' three or four have publiſh'd Obſervations, and Critical Notes with their Editions, I ſtill ſuſpect ſeveral Paſſages to be corrupt; however, I have pointed them out, and earneſtly recommend them to his next Editor to correct, by the Aſſiſtance of Manuſcript Copies.*

Curtius *has had a multitude of Editions, and a numerous Herd of Commentators have exerciſed their Faculties upon him, and been laviſh in his Praiſe, among whom the celebrated* Eraſmus *of* Rotterdam *appears as one; but Mr.* Le Clerc *has juſtly obſerv'd, that theſe have either commended the whole Work, without any Regard to the Parts which compoſe it, or ſome of the Parts, without conſidering what Relation they*

bore

bore to the Whole. They were, indeed, ſo blinded with the Glare of his Oratory, that they ſeem never to have preſumed to look further. The firſt who attempted to call his Veracity in queſtion, was Henry Glareanus: *He wrote very ſharp and ſevere Notes upon him, and tax'd him with abundance of Errors, (ſome ſay, more than were true); however,* Snakenburgh *commends his Induſtry, and excuſes him, by telling us, it often happens, that the firſt Remarkers upon other Mens Failings, fall into Errors themſelves.* Modius *attempted to vindicate* Curtius *from the Reflections of* Glareanus, *and made himſelf exceſſively merry with him; but he was ſerved the ſame Sauce by* Acidalius, *and uſed in the ſame ſarcaſtick manner. His next Commentators were* Popma, Loccenius, Raderus, *and* Freinſhemius, *which laſt took immenſe Pains in comparing him with* Arrian, *and other Authors; and to his Labours I am not aſhamed to own myſelf vaſtly indebted.* Tellier, *with ſome others, ſucceeded him, and every one found new Faults in their Author* (Curtius) *which had eſcaped the Search of the reſt. As for my part, I have uſed each of them, as far as I deem'd them agreeable to Truth, and have ſometimes taken the ſame Liberty of departing from all of them, which they have occaſionally taken with each other, namely, when I had ſtronger Reaſons to induce me to a contrary Opinion: However, if any other Commentator upon* Curtius *ariſes in my Days, who will be ſo kind as to ſhew me one of my Errors, (for I am no more than a Man, and pretend not to Infallibility) and bring ſufficient Proofs along with him, I ſhall freely and readily ſubſcribe to his*

his Opinion. I deſire no better, nor more candid Uſage from Poſterity, than what I have given my Predeceſſors in this Province, and have ſet aſide all Authority of great Names, whenever they endeavoured to make me ſwerve from Truth. Truth is, and always will be, what it ever was, and what was falſe Two thouſand Years ago, is the ſame at this preſent Writing; for Antiquity can give no Sanction to Error. There was a Time, when all the Antients were Moderns, and there may come a Time when ſome, who are now Moderns, may be ſtiled Antients. We Moderns are Men, the Antients were no more: They were ſubject to the ſame Frailties, Paſſions, and Prejudices with ourſelves; ſome of them wrote as ſmartly againſt their Predeceſſors, as we can write againſt ours, and laid as many Accuſations of Partiality and Error to their Charge, as we ever pretended to lay to ours. Had I tranſcribed or tranſlated all I could have raked up, relating to this Subject, neither Two, nor Half a dozen ſuch Volumes as theſe, would have contain'd them; but my intended Brevity debarr'd me from making long Quotations: However, where I have only abridg'd others, I hope I have ſeldom fail'd to carry the Strength of their Reaſons along with me, and to take whatever ſuited my Purpoſe. The Works of a Dutch *Commentator would, I fancy, be grateful to few* Engliſh *Readers; for which Reaſon, I have given my Obſervations ſuch a Turn, as to take off that Dullneſs, and Dryneſs, ſo common to moſt of my Fraternity, and endeavoured to render them agreeable, at the ſame time that they are inſtructive. No Remarks of this kind, that I know of,*

have

have ever yet been publiſh'd to an Engliſh *Tranſlation of any antient Hiſtorian, and of what vaſt Uſe they are, may be perceived at firſt Sight. We have, indeed, had a faint Attempt towards ſome, in* Brown's Juſtin; *but the Commentator has not thought fit to take notice of a Tenth part of his Autkor's Errors, as they had been publiſh'd, before his Time, in the* Variorum, *and other Editions. We have alſo now, ſome Remarks of Mr.* Dacier, *upon an* Engliſh *Verſion of* Plutarch's *Lives; but thoſe relating to* Alexander *eſpecially, are ſo mean, and trifling, that I could find no more than about five Lines, which I thought worth tranſcribing from him. I have purpoſely avoided taking notice of the Controverſy relating to* Curtius's *Antiquity; for whether he be an Antient, or a Modern, concerns neither me, nor the World, half ſo much to know, as whether the Work bearing his Name be good or bad: That has, indeed, been the Subject of ſome part of my Enquiry; and, if I may be allow'd to declare my Sentiments freely, I think it a pity that a particular Brand of Infamy cannot be ſtamp'd upon every Author, without Diſtinction, who dares preſume to impoſe Romance upon us, under the ſpecious Title of true Hiſtory. But ſome of his Admirers may be apt to ſay, in his Defence, that as his Two firſt Books are loſt, we know not what Title he gave his Work; perhaps That which now goes for Hiſtory, was only deſign'd for Romance, and what we call the* Acts *of* Alexander, *he might only ſtile the* Adventures *of* Alexander. — *Perhaps it might be ſo. However, as it now is, ſo grave a Title before ſo looſe a Work, looks like a*

Bar-

Bar-Gown upon a Buffoon's Back, or a Cardinal's Hat upon the Head of a Monkey. I ſhall neither take up my own Time, nor tire out my Reader's Patience with much more concerning an Author, whom I have cenſured ſo freely elſewhere, but refer him to the Obſervations upon the enſuing Work. Had Mr. Le Clerc *illuſtrated his Criticiſm with more Examples, there had been leſs Neceſſity for my Comment; and the more I have ſaid there, the leſs I have occaſion to ſay here. Allow me only to add the Character of* Curtius, *from* Tellier, *who was appointed to write Notes upon him* in Uſum Delphini: His Periods, *ſays he*, are generally round, and well turn'd, and his Cadences ſweet and harmonious; his Wit is terſe, and his Senſe ſtrong; his Language pure, and elegant, and his Thoughts refin'd. But among ſo many ſhining Qualities, (*which, by the bye, are fitter for a Declaimer, than an Hiſtorian*) he has many Blemiſhes; for he often runs counter to true Hiſtory, and his Geography is frequently falſe: He has ſhew'd himſelf unskill'd in deſcribing Battles, (*which was the better half of his Task*) and frequently confounds Truth with Fiction: He ſeems to have had but an ordinary Judgment, and ſtrives more to tickle the Ear, than inform the Underſtanding: He deſcribes Things rather as they might have been, than as they really were acted, and affects the artful Turn, and harmonious Cadence of his Periods too much: In his Deſcriptions, he is too poetical, and in his Speeches, too pedantick, and affected. *Thus far* Tellier: *To which I hope*

I may add, that nigh One half of his Work is made up of Speeches which were never ſpoke, Letters which were never ſent, and Deſcriptions of Mountains, Rivers, Towns, and Countries, whereof many are falſe, and the few that are true, nothing to his purpoſe, as an Hiſtorian; for they only ſerve to diſtract his Readers, and divert them from the main Story.

I ſhall conclude this Diſcourſe with ſome Particulars of Arrian's *Life, from* Photius, Voſſius, Boileau, Fabricius, *and others. Under that learned Prince,* (*ſays* Voſſius, *ſpeaking of the Emperor* Hadrian) *flouriſhed* Arrian *of* Nicomedia, *the celebrated Scholar of* Epictetus. (Dio *calls him,* Flavius Arrianus Nicomedienſis) *a Philoſopher, an Hiſtorian, and, if ſome may be credited, an eminent Civilian.* Suidas *acquaints us, from* Heliconius, *that he attained even to the Conſular Dignity, and that, for the Sweetneſs of his Stile, he was term'd another* Xenophon. Photius *agrees with him, and adds, that he was Prieſt to* Ceres, *and* Proſerpine. Lucian, *in his* Pſeudomantes, *aſſures us, that* Arrian *the Scholar of* Epictetus, *a Man of the firſt Rank in* Rome, *employed his whole Life in the Study of polite Literature, for which he was ſo particularly famous,* (*ſays* Dio) *that he was complimented with his Freedom both of* Rome, *and* Athens. Arnobius *mentions him towards the Cloſe of his Second Book, and ſo does* Aulus Gellius, lib. xvii. 19. & lib. xix. 1. Dio *informs us, that he was advanced to be Prefect of* Cappadocia, *and that he reduced the* Alauni, *and* Maſſa-

Maſſagetæ. Pliny *the Younger, who was then Proconſul of* Pontus, *and* Bithynia, *addreſs'd Seven of his Epiſtles to him*; *and this is the more probable, becauſe* Arrian *was not only a Native of* Nicomedia, *a City of* Bithynia, *but wrote the* Bithynian *and* Alaunian *Hiſtory, an Abridgment of the firſt of which, may be ſeen in* Photius, *and a Fragment of the laſt, in the Second Volume of* Blancard's *Edition of his Works. He wrote the* Parthian *Hiſtory, in Seventeen Books, an Extract whereof* Photius *has preſerved. We have Four Books of his Diſſertations on* Epictetus; *as alſo a* Paraplus, *or Luſtration of the Coaſts of the* Euxine *and* Red Seas, *inſcribed to the Emperor* Hadrian, *if that Inſcription be genuine*; *(for* Salmaſius *imagines theſe to have been the Works of another, of the ſame Name, who flouriſhed from the Time of* Nero *to* Veſpaſian) *He wrote the Life of* Dio *the* Syracuſian; *an Account of* Timoleon's *Acts in* Sicily; *a Book of Tactics*; *and a Treatiſe on Hunting, as a Supplement to* Xenophon's *Work upon the ſame Subject. His* Indian *Hiſtory we have entire, notwithſtanding the Aſſertion of the learned* Stuchius *to the contrary*; *and* Tzetzes, *in* Chil. iii. Hiſt. xcv. *takes notice of his Hiſtory of* Alexander. *But Time has deprived us of all the Ten Books which he wrote of the Tranſactions after* Alexander's *Death, except a ſhort Abſtract preſerved by* Photius. *Allow me here to add the Character which Mr.* Boileau *has given us of our Author, in his Life of* Epictetus, *tranſlated by Dean* Stanhope, p. xxii, xxiii. Of all the Scholars

lars of *Epictetus*, ſays he, *Arrian* is the only one, whoſe Name has been tranſmitted with Reputation to Poſterity; but he is ſuch a one, as ſufficiently demonſtrates the Excellency of his Maſter, tho' we ſhould ſuppoſe that He alone had been of his forming: For this is the very Perſon who was, afterwards, advanced to be *Preceptor* to *Antonine*, ſurnamed the *Pious*, and diſtinguiſh'd by the Title of *Xenophon*, becauſe, like that Philoſopher, he committed to Writing the Dictates deliver'd by his Maſter, in his Life-time, and publiſh'd them in One Volume, under the Name of *Epictetus* his Diſcourſes or Diſſertations, which, at preſent, we have in Four Books. After this, he compoſed a little Treatiſe call'd his *Enchiridion*, which is a ſhort Compendium of all *Epictetus*'s Philoſophical Principles, and hath ever been acknowledged for one of the moſt valuable, and beautiful Pieces of antient Morality. He likewiſe wrote a large Book of the Life and Death of *Epictetus*, which is now unfortunately loſt. *And to ſhew how much he was of Opinion, our Author had obliged Mankind, he aſſures us*, p. vi. *that Epictetus* left nothing of his own Compoſition behind him, and if *Arrian* had not tranſmitted to Poſterity the Maxims taken from his Maſter's Mouth, we have ſome Reaſon to doubt, whether the very Name of *Epictetus* had not been loſt to the World.

This Hiſtory of Alexander's *Expedition was tranſlated into* Italian *by* Leo *of* Modena, *and printed at* Venice, Anno 1554. Claudius Vi-

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tart *beſtowed a* French *Verſion upon it, which was publiſhed at* Paris, Anno 1581. *and* Ablancourt *another, which has been reprinted three Times, and is accounted the beſt of his Performances. It has had Four* Latin *Tranſlations; the firſt by* Nicolaus Saguntinus; *the ſecond by* Petrus Paulus Vergerius; *the third by* Bartholomæus Facius; *and the fourth by* Bonaventure Vulcanius. *Mr.* Fabricius *imagines the two firſt never appeared in Publick, becauſe he could not find them in any Library, nor even ſo much as mentioned in a Catalogue of Books.* Facius's *Tranſlation is generally condemn'd, for his numerous Omiſſions, Interpolations, Miſtakes, and wilful Deviations from his Original; beſides which, he is often guilty of ſlightly skimming over whatever he did not fully underſtand. That of* Vulcanius *is the moſt eſteem'd, and, for that Reaſon, annex'd to all the beſt Editions of our Author. How many Editions* Arrian *has had, I never had Curioſity enough to inquire; all I could procure, I made uſe of, particularly thoſe of* Henry Stephens, Blancard, *and* Gronovius; *and have not only taken what was fit for my purpoſe, from the Annotations annex'd to each, but alſo from thoſe of the beſt Editions of* Curtius. *I am as far from pretending that all theſe Obſervations are my own, as that they would be ever a whit the better if they were ſo; I acknowledge my Obligations to all my Aſſiſtants, and whoever has a mind to diſtingniſh mine from theirs, may eaſily ſatisfy himſelf, by conſulting the ſeveral Editions of* Curtius, *and* Arrian, *already mentioned. As*

to

to the Remarks upon Prodigies, Predictions, Omens, Auguries, Anſwers of Oracles, &c. *they are my own. Whether Mr.* Van Dale *has taken notice of thoſe particular Stories, in his Hiſtory of Oracles, I know not; however, I had not that Treatiſe by me; and, indeed, I found no manner of Difficulty in giving a plain, and natural Solution of each of them, as faſt as they came in my Way.*

What Additions, Alterations, and Amendments I have made to Alexander's *Genealogy; the Catalogue of Authors upon this Hiſtory; the Account of the Diviſion of the Empire after* Alexander's *Death; and* Raderus's *Tables, will be eaſily perceived by ſuch of my Readers as are skill'd in the* Latin *Language, if they compare mine, with thoſe in* Snakenburgh's *Edition of* Curtius. *The Chronological Table, which I have added at the End of the Second Volume, contains an Abſtract of all the moſt memorable Facts mentioned in the Hiſtory, in their due Order of Time, drawn chiefly from* Arrian. *Such of the Names of the* Athenian Archons *as he had paſſed by, I have ſupplied from* Meurſius's *Treatiſe* De Archontibus Athenienſium; *the* Roman *Conſuls from* Diodorus, *and the laſt Edition of* Petavius's Rationarium Temporum: *and for the Agreement between the* Greek *Calender and ours, I conſulted* Scaliger, Petavius, Potter, *and eſpecially the learned* Uſher, *who has handled that Matter more fully and clearly than all others.*

Whoever mention this Hiſtory, beſtow high Encomiums on its Author's Veracity, beyond any other

other upon the Subject; but as a long Detail of them would be tedious, I ſhall refer my Readers, for full Satisfaction, to Fabricius's Bibliothec. Græc. Tom. iii. *The Conſideration of his Veracity alone, induced me to undertake this Verſion, and to make the following Remarks,—whereby I have been enabled to contradict many ſtrange Stories, which have hitherto paſſed for Truths, and to bring ſome Truths to Light, which had lain long buried in Oblivion. I have taken upon me (as all Commentators do) to judge of the Probability of Facts, as related by the ſeveral Authors I have quoted, and ſhall now leave my Work to the Judgment of the wide World, without further Apology.*

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A CRITICISM UPON *QUINTUS CURTIUS.*

CHAP. I.

Of the Remarks neceſſary to be made upon an Author, in order to form a true Judgment of him; and of Quintus Curtius's *Style, and Manner of Writing.*

THE Works of all Authors, may be examin'd, and ought to be ſcrutiniz'd by the Rules of Art, and thoſe Laws of right Reaſon, which all Men acknowledge as ſuch, without any Reſpect to the Countries they belong to, or the Age they live in. Whoever have obſerved theſe, throughout their Works, will receive an univerſal Approbation: But they are but few. However, all others, as far as they have obſerved them, we may praiſe, without Envy; and where they have tranſgreſs'd them, we may reprove without Vanity. Wherefore, we ſhall now proceed to bring *Curtius*'s Work to the Teſt, and, as he profeſſes himſelf an Hiſtorian, examine it by the Laws of Hiſtory, and by the Rules of ſound Reaſon, to which he, as well as we, ought always to be conformable.

2. Three Things ought diligently to be conſidered, in order to obtain a thorough Knowledge of Authors. Firſt, What Matter they chuſe, for the Compoſition. Secondly, The Diſpoſition of the Matter ſo choſen. And, Thirdly, Their Style or Elocution. In the firſt, and ſecond of theſe Heads, the Learning and Judgment of an Author appears; in the third, his Wit, and Practice in Writing. Nothing elſe can be ſought for, in a Writer: and if we be once perfect Maſters of theſe, we may juſtly affirm, that the Learning, the Judgment, and Wit of any Author lie open to us; if otherwiſe, we determine raſhly, and inconſiderately; and are wholly at a Loſs, both as to their Style, and Reaſoning. But to come to a preſent Knowledge of theſe Particulars, 'tis not ſufficient to give an Author's Works one or two tranſient Readings, while, perhaps, we are taken up with other Concerns, or even with a Deſign to be inform'd on what Subject he treats, or to imitate whatever is graceful in his Style, or the Diſpoſition of his Matter; but we ought, after having once or twice carefully peruſed a Work, to examine it throughly, and treaſure up whatever is fitly and properly expreſs'd, and what otherwiſe, in our Memory, or commit them to Writing. And if we deſire to be accurate in our Obſervations, we muſt trace our own Footſteps over again, and alter, or eraſe whatever may have been haſtily, or inadvertently put down; or add any thing material, which may then occur to our Memory. If we proceed by any other Method, how attentively ſoever we may read an Author's Works over, we ſhall never be able to form a right Judgment concerning him. As to the Hiſtory of *Quintus Curtius*, I had read him more than once, before I made theſe Remarks, concerning his Work; which I ſhall give an Account of, in their Order. I was, at firſt, ſo amazed with the Greatneſs of the Acts, he every where deſcribes, and cajoled with the Elegancy of his Style, that I ſaw nothing but the Magnanimity, Glory, and Succeſs of *Alexander*, nor hardly liſten'd to any thing but the loſty Expreſſions of an Author well ſkill'd in Rhetorick.

3. But when I came, afterwards, to read *Curtius*, not with a Deſign of knowing theſe Things, wherewith I was acquainted before, but of examining every Part of his Work by the ſevere Laws of Hiſtory, and the unerring Rule of Truth and Juſtice, I ſoon made theſe Remarks, which are the Subject of this Eſſay; and wherein, I preſume, I have ſo fully ſhewn his Beauties, as well as Blemiſhes, that

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every one, who takes and examines his Work, will eaſily and readily acknowledge the Juſtice I have done him.

4. But, that I may proceed to delineate thoſe Things as in Miniature, I take *Curtius*, whoever he was, (for I profeſs myſelf ignorant of that) to have applied himſelf cloſely, and with great Diligence, to the Study of Rhetorick; and it is not improbable, that he might be a Profeſſor of it, as an Art, and teach it to others. He ſeems alſo to have been of Opinion, that none of all the *Latin* Hiſtorians had handled the glorious Acts of *Alexander* the *Macedonian*, as the Dignity of the Matter required; for which Reaſon, he attempted the Taſk, and made choice of this Subject, not ſo much with a Deſign of tranſmitting a juſt and accurate Hiſtory of *Alexander*'s Exploits, down to Poſterity, (tho' he had that alſo in View) as of giving the World a Specimen of his Oratory: for which Reaſon, he has not gone about to deſcribe the Acts of the great Conqueror of *Aſia*, in the Manner which a curious Obſerver of all Particulars, ſhould have done; but rather, as he imagined they ought to be deſcribed by a Rhetorician. On this account, he has, every where, taken occaſion to interlard his Hiſtory with Speeches, and thoſe, not in ſuch a Style, as ſuited the *Macedonian* Soldiers, who were, moſt of them, unletter'd; and better ſkill'd in Arms, than Arts; but in the Style and Manner of a lazy Rhetorician, who had ſpent all his Days in a School, and lived the Life of a Recluſe. The Narrative Parts of his Work, pleaſe us not ſo much by their own native Simplicity, or the Accuracy of the Deſcription, as by the Beauty, and Brightneſs of his Words, and a certain Heat of Style, which runs throughout the whole, and which never cools, nor is ever leſs poliſhed, or any where ſuffered to languiſh. But whenever the leaſt Opportunity of Deſcription offers itſelf, you there behold the Man, greedily laying open all his Art, even where other Hiſtorians are ſilent, or, at leaſt, ſatisfy themſelves, where the Subject is ſo copious, with a bare and natural Relation of the Things, without any far-fetch'd Garniture, to ſet it off. As for Example: How many florid Deſcriptions of Rivers has he given us, as tho' he had deſign'd to ſend his Work among the thirſty Inhabitants of the inner Parts of *Lybia*, who never ſaw one; and by the virtue of his Deſcriptions, to give them ſome Remedy againſt the broiling Heats of their Climate. But inaſmuch as the Things to be deſcribed, are not always, of themſelves, ſo great, as to ſtrike the Reader with Surprize, and Aſtoniſhment, he there

ſwells his Style with Hyperboles, which Boys, indeed, may admire, but Men of ripe, and eſtabliſh'd Judgment muſt needs laugh at. In a Word, he every where ſhews himſelf a moſt elegant Declaimer, and one perfectly well qualified to ſupply Words, and Sentences, and Flowers of Rhetorick to adorn School-boys Orations, and embelliſh their Style in Writing: And that, perhaps, was his only Deſign, in this Treatiſe.

5. But throughout his whole Work, the Hiſtorian ſcarce any where appears, whoſe particular Province is to examine every thing relating to his Subject, and ſelect only ſuch as are fit for his Purpoſe; never to deſcend to Trifles, nor throw away his Wit, in the Deſcriptions of Things which every body elſe knows, as well as he; to form a true Judgment between Things credible, and incredible, and either wholly to omit the latter, or, in few Words, expoſe them, but to be clear, and juſt in deſcribing the former; who not only brands thoſe flagrant and conſpicuous Vices of Drunkenneſs, Cruelty, and Arrogance, but alſo unmaſks thoſe more ſecret ones, which ſcreen themſelves under the Names of Virtues, and expoſes them to publick Cenſure. Such was the unſatiable Ambition which ſo harraſs'd *Alexander*, and his ungovernable Thirſt of waging War. One who carefully treaſures up all Circumſtances of Things, Men, and Places, of whatſoever kind, and makes uſe thereof in his lively Deſcriptions of Actions, that thereby the Reader may come to a more perfect Knowledge of what he deſigns to communicate. One who relates all Things according to the due Order of Time, when they happened, that his Reader may clearly diſtinguiſh the Year, and Seaſon of each particular Action. One who accommodates his Style to his Subject, and not his Subject to his Style: And, laſtly, one who looks upon Truth as a Goddeſs, whoſe Prieſt he is, and offers his Oblations to her, in a ſimple, and unaffected Manner, according as the Deity requires, and his ſacred Office directs.

6. That theſe, and ſuch like, are the Defects of *Quintus Curtius*'s Hiſtory, is manifeſt; but 'tis better to deſcend to the ſeveral Particulars themſelves, than by dwelling too long on general Heads, to ſtir up thoſe, who may be ſtill his Admirers, againſt us. We ſhall therefore ſhew, firſt, Where he is deficient in the Choice of his Matter. Secondly, Where he errs, in the Diſpoſition of his Matter, ſo choſen. And, laſtly, deſcribe the Blemiſhes in his Style, and Manner of Elocution. In all which Particulars, we

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ſhall have that Regard to our Reader, as well as ourſelves, that we will neither paſs over any thing of Importance, nor heap up a mighty Maſs, of whatever might be ſaid on the Subject.

7. And here, we think it neceſſary, in few Words, to declare, (if any Declaration in that Caſe, will be thought ſufficient) that no premeditated Malice, nor Envy engaged us in this Undertaking. I ſolemnly aver, that whatever I here write, is not written and publiſhed with any Deſign to detract from the real Excellencies, and undoubted Worth of *Curtius*, or to deter our Youth from reading him, and ſuch like Authors. His Eloquence I have, every where, commended, and the wiſe Sayings which are interſpers'd in his Works, I have all along approved; and for the ſake of theſe, he deſerves, if poſſible, to be more read by Youth, and to be had in greater Eſteem by Men of ripe Underſtandings. And this is my Opinion, as to all antient Authors of that Stamp, whatever they be. If any deſpiſe, or diſdain them, as not eloquent or ingenious enough to deſerve his Imitation, as to Elocution, or Invention, I ſhall never agree with him. I have always read ſuch Authors with Pleaſure, and am ſtill, even at theſe Years, delighted with them; and this I declare to be the real, and unfeigned Sentiments of my Heart.

8. However, I would not adviſe our Youth, or thoſe whom riper Years have not raiſed much above them, in Underſtanding, to imbibe the Faults of the Antients, along with their Beauties, and ſet up for Admirers, of what are ſo far from meriting Applauſe, that they will hardly admit of any Excuſe. Such, are many Paſſages in *Curtius*, contrary to all the Laws of true, and undoubted Hiſtory, and Reaſon. He may, indeed, be pardoned, in regard to his other Excellencies; but will never be commended for ſuch Defects.

9. Neither are thoſe People of a different Opinion from me, however they may ſeem to be ſo, who condemn thoſe Things in modern Performances, which they will not allow as Faults in antient Authors. This Practice of theirs, is in itſelf unjuſt, and which no Maſk will ſo cover, as to ſcreen them from the Obſervation of wiſe Judges. Nay, what is ſtill more, they vilify, and detract from the Moderns, becauſe they know they may hurt them, while they will not ſuffer the Antients to be juſtly cenſured, when ſuch Cenſure is ſo far from hurting them, that it is of the higheſt Importance to their Readers, to hinder them from imitating what they

they ought ſtudiouſly to avoid. It were better, in my mind, not to read the Antients at all, than to read them as thoſe People would perſuade us, I mean, without forming a Judgment of them; for by ſo doing, we ſhall only be greater Fools than before. But they are to be read, and that with Care, if I judge right, that ſo we may imitate their Excellencies; and avoid their Defects, at the ſame time that we excuſe them. After this Manner, *Curtius*, and others of that ſort, as I have already hinted, may be read, with Profit and Pleaſure, and no Miſchief can accrue from our reading them. Theſe Things, I thought fit to premiſe, to prevent Calumny; which, if I cannot appeaſe, I ſhall, at leaſt, endure with Patience: For to avoid Envy, is now, (as it always was, and will be) too difficult a Taſk, for one, who employs his Time in the Study of Literature.

CHAP. II.

Quintus Curtius *committed many Miſtakes in his Hiſtory, by reaſon of his Ignorance in Aſtronomy and Geography.*

I SHALL here begin with thoſe Paſſages, which deſerve juſtly to be cenſured, and condemned in *Curtius*'s Hiſtory; and, tho' I am far from being of the Opinion of thoſe, who are for having an Hiſtorian throughly vers'd in all the Sciences, which he may have occaſion, at any time, to diſcourſe about, yet it were to be wiſh'd, that he had learn'd, at leaſt, the Rudiments of ſome of the Liberal Sciences; which would have hinder'd him from betraying ſuch groſs Ignorance, and taught him how to ſhun falling into manifeſt Abſurdities, when he was obliged to touch upon them. Or, if he muſt write about what he underſtood not, he might have made uſe of the Aſſiſtance of thoſe who had. There are two Arts, which are near of Kin, and one of them is abſolutely neceſſary to an Hiſtorian, and the other, very often, uſeful; neither of which, *Curtius* was, in the leaſt meaſure, acquainted with: thoſe are, Aſtronomy, and Geography; of both which, he every where ſhews himſelf entirely ignorant.

2. I ſhall demonſtrate what I have here aſſerted, by Examples, and firſt ſhew, that he who could believe, that the * Moon was eclipſed, not only when the Earth overſhadow'd her, but alſo when the Sun preſs'd her; ſo *Curtius* ſpeaks, concerning an † Eclipſe of the Moon, which happen'd at the Time when *Alexander* was upon his March to fight the ſecond Battle with *Darius*. " They (ſays he, namely, " the *Barbarians*) who well know, that the Planets per- " form their appointed Courſes, and that the Moon is " eclipſed, either when ſhe is overſhadow'd by the Earth, or " preſs'd by the Sun; do not, however, declare the Rea- " ſons of theſe Phænomena to the Vulgar." Theſe Things *Curtius* himſelf was ignorant of, however he might have taken it amiſs, to have been rank'd among the unletter'd Multitude. *Matthæus Raderus* would have the Change of the Moon, to be underſtood by this Preſſion of the Sun; that is, when the Moon is neareſt the Sun, and turns her whole bright Face that Way. But none, beſides himſelf, ever call'd that an Eclipſe of the Moon; neither, as I ſuppoſe, her neareſt Approach to the Sun, a Preſſion of the Sun. This is ſo far from being the Language of one vers'd in Aſtronomy, that it plainly proves him ignorant, even of the Terms of Art. The Change of the Moon none wonders at, as happening monthly; but Eclipſes, as being leſs frequent, ſtrike the Vulgar with Aſtoniſhment.

3. From this his Ignorance in Aſtronomy, he has given us Deſcriptions of Countries falſe, and erroneous, becauſe he knew not under what Climate they lay, or how far diſtant from the Æquator. Thus he deſcribes the Territories of the *Parapamiſans*. " They are ſeated chiefly beneath " the moſt rigid Northern Clime, being join'd to the *Ba-* " *ctrians* Weſterly, and the *Indian Ocean* waſhing their " South Borders." And a little after, " The Vines, and " Trees, if any can ſtand ſuch Severity of Weather, are bu- " ried, and lie, all Winter, wholly covered with Snow; " but when that diſſolves, and the Earth begins to appear, " they again enjoy the Benefit of the Sun, and open Air. " But ſo deep are the Snows, which lie there, and ſo rigid " are the Froſts, and of ſuch long Continuance, that ſcarce " ſo much as any Marks of a Footſtep of Man or Beaſt is " to be found. A duſky Shadow of the Sky, or a kind of " Twilight, rather than Light itſelf, dwells among them,

* *Curtius, lib.* iv. *cap.* 10. 5. † *Ibid. lib.* vii. *cap.* 3. " inſomuch

" inſomuch that they can ſcarce diſcern Things very near " them." I ſhall forbear tranſcribing any more of this Stuff, which is beyond all Sufferance. Who would not imagine, that *Curtius* had been, all this while, deſcribing *Thule*, or ſome Tract of Land within the Arctick Circle, or adjacent to the Pole? But *Alexander* never reach'd the Northern Borders of *Scythia*, and but juſt touch'd upon the moſt Southern Parts: Beſides, the *Parapamiſus* joining upon *Bactria*, are under a very mild, and happy Climate, as being placed between the Thirty-fourth and Fortieth Degree of North Latitude, equal to the moſt Southerly Parts of *Greece*, where the Heat is much more to be fear'd, than the Winter Cold, which is neither ſevere, nor of long Continuance. Thoſe Countries, now, go under the Name of *Mawaralnahram*; their Capital City is *Smarcanda*; they produce great Plenty of all Neceſſaries for Life, as they who have travell'd them, abundantly teſtify. But if you had rather place the *Parapamiſans* further to the Eaſt, they will be the Inhabitants to the North of *Cabul*, and *Caſſemira*, which are mountainous Countries, cover'd with continual Snows, and conſequently cold. But then, thoſe Mountains themſelves are uninhabited; and in the Valleys, where the Inhabitants are, the Snows fall not in ſuch Quantities, nor lie ſo long, as we may eaſily perceive in our own Country, near *Geneva*, where Mountains lie to the Eaſtward, call'd the *Curſed Hills*, cover'd with perpetual Snow; but then, no Inhabitants dwell upon them, nor no Vines grow there, but only in the Valleys. Beſides, it is evident, that *Curtius* did not deſcribe the rigid Cold in thoſe Parts, as occaſion'd ſo much by the Winters, or Snows, as by their Vicinity to the Pole, inſomuch that they had only Twilight, inſtead of Day. This, to ſay no worſe of it, is a direct Blunder; for the Winter Nights are not longer there, than in *Italy*. Which ought to be well obſerved; for we do not ſo much find fault with his deſcribing the Cold in theſe Places, as with his repreſenting it ſo bitter, and ſevere, and ariſing from the Length of their Nights, as if they had been placed within the Arctick Circle. But of this we have diſcourſed more at large, in *French*, in our *Bibliotheca Selecta*, *Tome* III. *p.* 221. &c. If you have ſtill a Deſire to underſtand the Situation of thoſe Countries, more accurately, *Abulfeda's Arabick* Deſcription of them, publiſh'd by *John Grævius*, will give you full Satisfaction.

4. But what goes beyond his erroneous Deſcriptions of Places, is, that the ſame Author, who, under the moſt benign

benign Clime, could find a Frigid Zone, and *Cimmerian* Darkneſs, has found a Torrid Zone in Countries much further North; for thus he deſcribes *Alexander*'s March thro' the Deſarts of *Sogdia*, a little after: * "The Rays "of the Summer's Sun, heat the Sands, which, as ſoon as "they begin to be ſcorch'd, burn every thing as with a con"tinual Fire. Then the Vapours ſent forth by the immo"derate Heat of the Earth, obſcure it; inſomuch that the "Surface thereof appears like a vaſt, and unbounded Ocean. "Their March by Night was, indeed, tolerable——— but "the Heats commence with the Light, and ſuck up all the "Moiſture of the Earth, *&c.*" He could have given no other Deſcription of a Journey thro' the Southern Bounds of *Perſia*, or to the Temple of *Jupiter Hammon*. *Arrian*'s Account of *Alexander*'s Return, thro' the *Gadroſian* Deſarts, in his Sixth Book, is not unlike this; but then, theſe People inhabit the moſt Southern Parts of the *Perſian* Empire, towards the *Indian* Ocean. Perhaps *Curtius* might miſtake the *Sogdians* for the *Gadroſians*, or copy from ſome Author who did, without being able to diſtinguiſh the ſpace of Time which paſs'd between theſe two Expeditions.

5. From his Ignorance in Aſtronomy, proceeded thoſe ſtrange Stories of Wonders, which he introduces *Alexander*'s Soldiers giving an Account of, at the River *Hyphaſis*: † "Thou now prepareſt to paſs into another World, and "ſeekeſt an *India* unknown to the *Indians* themſelves, "where wild Beaſts have their Habitations, and Serpents "their Holes, and Lurking-places. Thou even deſireſt to "extend thy Conqueſts further than the Sun does its "Courſe." This Hyperbole had ſcarce been tolerable, if they had only ſaid, "Thou endeavoureſt to conquer what"ever the Sun encompaſſes:" But here, the *Macedonians* are afraid to be led into Lands, which the Sun never ſaw; as if they had obſerved leſs Sun, or a different one to ariſe in *India*, from that in *Macedonia*. One but indifferently ſkill'd in the Principles of Aſtronomy, would never have introduced any Perſons ſpeaking ſo abſurdly. But leſt you ſhould ſuppoſe, this only happen'd to ſlip from his Pen, as by Chance, and he was not pleaſed with it, he repeats the ſame again, afterwards. For the || *Macedonians* again complain, "That they are drawn beyond the Stars, and Sun,

* *Curtius, lib.* vii. *cap.* 5. † *Ibid. lib.* ix. *cap.* 3. || *Ibid. lib.* ix. *cap.* 4. 18.

"and

" and forced to viſit thoſe Parts, which Nature deſigned to " ſcreen from mortal Eyes." That nothing remains for them, after the Conqueſt of ſo many Countries, " except Fogs, " and Darkneſs, and a perpetual Night, brooding upon the " Deep; a Sea ſtock'd with vaſt Numbers of cruel, and " unheard-of Monſters; the Waters whereof were immove- " able, and where Nature herſelf languiſhed, and died." Theſe Complaints might have had ſome colour of Reaſon had they been made by the *Macedonians*, when they march'd directly North from the *Caſpian* Sea, for ſome Months, in the Winter Seaſon; for then they had ſeen the Nights increaſed beyond their uſual Length, and the Cold intenſely ſharp. But when they travell'd towards the South, and ſaw the Sun every Day higher above their Heads than other, and the Heats increaſe proportionably, there could be no ſuſpicion of eternal Night, an immoveable Ocean, or dying Nature among them: but a Man who is perpetually in the declaiming Vein, could not omit ſo fine an Opportunity of diſplaying his Talent.

Compare theſe, with the firſt Suaſory, which *M. Ann. Seneca* has collected from the Declaimers, and they will be found near of Kin; and perhaps theſe were copied from them. There, while *Alexander* ſtands deliberating, whether he ſhall attempt to ſail upon the Ocean or no, *Avitus* diſſuades him in theſe Words: " The Sea there ſtands im- " moveable; and Nature, as if at her laſt Gaſp, a lifeleſs " Maſs. Strange, and terrible are the Beaſts there bred, " and vaſt are the Monſters which the Ocean produces, " and that Maſs of Waters nouriſhes. The Light is there " obſcured by Miſts, and the Day ſhut up with Darkneſs; " The Sea itſelf is ſluggiſh, and unactive; and there are " either no Stars, or what Stars are there, are unknown." *Oſcus* adds, " 'Tis now Time for *Alexander* to end his " Expedition, where the Bounds of the Earth appear, and " the Sun ends his Race, *&c.* We know not what it is, " which Nature has withdrawn from human Eyes, becauſe " an eternal Darkneſs conceals it. Then the Muſe, or Chorus, proceeds, " The monſtrous Size of the Beaſts, and " the immoveable Waters of the Deep declare, O *Alexander*, " that there is nothing left for thee to conquer further; " therefore return." All theſe are manifeſt Errors, to any one but meanly vers'd in Aſtronomy: however, undoubtedly, they appear'd beautiful Paſſages to *Curtius*, or he would never have imitated them.

6. If

6. If any ſhould object, that Aſtronomy was not ſufficiently known, in the Age when *Curtius* lived; and if we go back as high as *Alexander*'s Time, the Knowledge thereof was much leſs; and that therefore *Curtius*, and *Alexander*'s Soldiers might, without Diſgrace, make uſe of ſuch Speeches; I anſwer, that Aſtronomy was little known, or ſtudied by Rhetoricians; but *Ptolemy*'s Writings, which are not much later than *Curtius*, evidently demonſtrate, that ſuch childiſh Expreſſions might have been avoided; neither was *Ptolemy* the Inventer of that Science, but only the Poliſher, and Improver. And as for *Alexander*'s Soldiers, they could not have been guilty of ſuch Fooleries, among whom were *Chaldæans*, and *Ægyptians*, expert in Aſtronomy, beſides many of the Inhabitants bordering upon thoſe very Parts, where theſe Monſters ſhould have been produced. *Arrian*, indeed, introduces *Cœnus* diſſuading *Alexander* from attempting any further Progreſs, towards the End of his Fifth Book; but he uſes none of thoſe Diſcourſes of Wonders, which could only be hatch'd in the Brain of idle, and unſkill'd Rhetoricians.

7. *Joſeph Scaliger*, in his Book *De Emendatione Temporum*, *lib.* xi. *p.* 118. the laſt Edition, produces theſe Words of *Curtius*, *lib.* viii. *cap.* 9. towards the Cloſe of the Chapter, concerning the *Indian* Months: "Their "Months, ſays he, are divided into Fifteen Days each, and "by that means the full Space of their Years is meaſured. "They note their Time by the Courſe of the Moon, not "as moſt Nations, when that Planet ſhews a full Face, but "when ſhe begins to appear horned; for which Reaſon, "they have ſhorter Months, who divide them according to "this Appearance of the Moon, than the other. Upon this, *Scaliger* obſerves, "They muſt certainly have ſhorter "Months than other Nations, if theirs conſiſt of no more "than Fifteen Days. But how come they to commence "their Account from the Moon in her Increaſe, and De-"creaſe, and not as well from the Full, and Change? and "if from the Full, how can that Part of his Diſcourſe be "conſiſtent, where he ſays, When the Planet ſhews a full "Face? When can this be, but at full Moon? Again, if "only Fifteen Days be allowed to each Month, how will "he always keep exactly to the Number, ſo as not to de-"part from his Lunar Months, at the alternate Full and "Change?— And if he always reckons from the Moon's "appearing horned, how will the exact Number of Fifteen "Days be preſerved, as that Author, otherwiſe very elo-"quent,

" quent, has endeavoured to ſhew, but they will conſiſt of " Thirty, and One and thirty Days." *Matthæus Raderus* endeavours to explain *Curtius*, as if he deſign'd to demonſtrate, that one Month begun, and was underſtood to commence a little after the Change to the Full Moon, and the next, from the Time when ſhe begun to decreaſe, to the next Change. This, indeed, ought to be his Meaning; but it is ſtrangely expreſs'd, when he tells us, that the Moon begins to ſhew herſelf horned, on the Sixteenth Day; when 'tis evident, ſhe does not appear ſo, till about ſeven Days after Full Moon. But before *Raderus*, *Thomas Lydiat* had try'd to ſolve the Matter otherways. However, *Scaliger*, in his *Prolegomena* to his *Canones Iſagogicæ*, *p.* 11. has plainly ſhew'd, that *Lydiat* neither underſtood *Curtius*, nor *Curtius* the Author which he copied from. The antient *Perſians* counted Fifteen Days to each of their Months, and Twenty-four of theſe Months to the Solar Year, before the Introduction of *Mohammediſm*, as *John Chardin* evidently demonſtrates, in his *Itinerarium Perſicum*, *Tome* XI. *p.* 14. *Quarto.*

8. But now to proceed to Geography, which, as it relates to the Deſcription and Situation of Countries, was much later than Aſtronomy; *Curtius* has committed vaſt, and unpardonable Errors herein. None can deny, but that this is almoſt as neceſſary to an Hiſtorian, as the other, becauſe, without a true Knowledge thereof, the Marches of Armies muſt, neceſſarily, be wrong deſcribed, and a Reader who is unacquainted with the Situation of Countries, will be deceived. *Curtius* has failed exceedingly in this Point; and unleſs his Readers conſult ſome more able Geographer than he, they will infallibly be led aſtray. *Polybius*, before he preſumed to put a Hand to the writing his Hiſtory, was willing to view the chief Places, whereof he intended to treat, leſt he ſhould fall into Miſtakes, as the antient Hiſtorians had done, when the Situation of Places was leſs known. " * Why, ſays he, have we endured ſo many Hazards, and " ſo much Toil, as a Journey thro' *Africa*, *Spain*, and " *France*, and a Voyage thro' the Seas which waſh their " Shores requires, but upon this Motive, that we might " thereby correct the Errors of the Antients, who under- " took to deſcribe thoſe Parts, and diſplay the Knowledge " of them to the *Greeks* of our Country?" And having

* *Polyb. lib.* iii. *p.* 293. *Edit. Amſt.*

before

before diſcourſed concerning *Hannibal*'s Paſſage over the *Alps*, * "We write of theſe Things, ſays he, with the "greater Confidence, as having learned them from Men "who lived in thoſe Times; and we travell'd to the *Alps*, "on purpoſe to view thoſe Places, and to know the Truth "of what we ſhould relate." And *Diodorus Siculus*, towards the Beginning of his Hiſtory, "Thro' many Dangers, and with much Toil, we have travell'd over a great "Part of *Aſia*, and *Europe*, that we might ſee the chiefeſt, "and moſt neceſſary Places: for ſundry groſs Errors proceed "from the Want of Knowledge of Countries, not only "among the meaner Writers, but even among ſome, who "have acquired a great Share of Glory, and Eſteem." Theſe Things, 'tis plain, cannot well be wanting in any Hiſtorian: but *Curtius* appears never ſo much as to have read one Geographical Treatiſe, of thoſe Countries which *Alexander* ſubdued; tho', undoubtedly, many were then extant, written at that Time, beſides thoſe we ſtill have, which are older than *Curtius*. However, he ſeems to have ſtudied nothing leſs, than to deſcribe the Countries he had occaſion to treat of, with Accuracy, as will evidently appear, by examining him.

9. *Claudius Salmaſius*, in his Exerciſes upon *Pliny*, *Chap.* 40. *p.* 582. *Utrecht* Edition, has, long ago, obſerved, that *Curtius* trifled in the firſt Chapter of his Third Book, and confounded the two Rivers *Lycus*, and *Marſyas*; whereas *Marſyas* runs by *Apamea*, and *Lycus* waſhes *Laodicea*. However, a few Miſtakes in the Deſcriptions of ſmaller Rivers, might be forgiven; but his other Errors, which ſtrike at the very Roots of all Geography, can never be pardoned. Hear *Lucian*, diſcourſing concerning the writing of true Hiſtory: "In the Survey of Places, ſays he, "to falſify not only Miles, but whole Days Marches, is a "Property of ſome of our noted Hiſtorians." *Curtius*'s Deſcription of the Situation of the celebrated Oracle of *Jupiter Hammon*, which was ſo well known, ſhews that both the Climate, and the Countries adjacent, were utterly unknown to him; † "There, ſays he, is a wonderful Mild-"neſs of the Skies, and all Seaſons of the Year ſmile with "the like Face, as if there were a perpetual Spring." Who, unleſs he is abſolutely unacquainted with the very Elements of Geography, but muſt know, that this is not the Tem-

* *Lib.* iii. *p.* 280. † *Curtius, lib.* iv. *cap.* 7. 17.

perature

perature of the inner Parts of *Lybia*, about the Twenty-eighth Degree of North Latitude? But this is deem'd a Miracle, and attributed to the Preſence of the God, by ſome Writers, whom *Curtius* has childiſhly followed, who chuſe not to fill their Hiſtories with the trueſt Accounts of Things, but the ſtrangeſt. * *Diodorus Siculus* has alſo given us the like Deſcription, perhaps from the ſame Hands; but † *Arrian*, a Man of much better Judgment than either of them, has wholly omitted ſuch Trifles.

10. *Curtius* deſcribes the Situation of the bordering Nations thus; "To the Eaſtward, lie the *Æthiopians*; to the "Southward, the *Arabians*, or *Troglodytæ*, whoſe Country "extends to the *Red Sea*; to the Weſtward, dwell thoſe "*Æthiopians* who are called *Scenitæ*; to the Northward, "are the *Naſamones*, whoſe Coaſt is full of Quick-ſands, "and whoſe Inhabitants live by the Spoils of the Ocean; "for they watch the Shores, and ſeize upon ſuch Ships as "happen to be left dry at low Water, upon the Shallows, "which they are well acquainted with." Let any one look into the Tables of *Ptolemy* of *Alexandria*, who was much better ſkill'd in thoſe Parts than he, and he will ſoon perceive, that the *Nitriotæ*, and *Oaſitæ* dwelt towards the Eaſt, then thoſe of Higher *Ægypt*, and laſtly, the *Arabians*, who were named *Troglodytæ*, whom *Curtius* erroneouſly places towards the South, and makes them poſſeſs a Tract much more extenſive, than they really did. Towards the South, were firſt the *Lybians*, then the more remote *Æthiopians*. Towards the Weſt, the *Naſamones*; and whether their Country reach'd to the Quick-ſands or no, I know not. Towards the North, were the *Lybians*, who bordered upon *Ægypt*, and held the whole Maritime Country between *Alexandria* and *Cyrene*. *Diodorus* deſcribes the Situations of theſe Parts ſomewhat different; however, he approaches much nearer to this, than to *Curtius*'s Geography: "The *Æthiopians*, ſays he, have their Habita-"tion towards the South, and Weſt; the *Lybians*, a wan-"dering Race, towards the North; but the *Naſamones* "take up the whole Tract, along the Sea-coaſt." This laſt Part is leſs accurate than the former; for the North-Borders and the Sea-coaſt are the ſame; and the *Naſamones* ought rather to have been placed towards the Weſt; beſides, *Diodorus* has wholly omitted telling us, who inhabited to the Eaſtward of the Temple of *Jupiter Hammon*.

* *Lib.* xvii. *p.* 527. † *Initio, lib.* iii.

11. *Curtius*

11. *Curtius* deſcribes *Alexander*'s March from *Aſſyria* towards *Babylon*, and the Courſe of the *Tygris* and *Euphrates*, never a whit better. After he has told us, that *Arbela* was taken, he ſays, *Alexander* march'd with his Army ſtraight to *Babylon*, and begins the Deſcription of that March thus: * "On their Left Hand, as they travell'd along, "was *Arabia*, famous for its Fertility in Spices, and all "their Road was thro' a champaign Country." It is paſt Diſpute, that *Curtius* here means, that Part of *Arabia* which was next to *Euphrates*, which he unfortunately miſtakes for the Spice-bearing Region, or that Part which is uſually called *Arabia the Happy*, when, in reality, 'tis *Arabia Deſerta*. Then he places *Arabia*, falſely, upon their Left Hand, as they march'd from *Aſſyria* towards *Babylon*. *Arabia Deſerta* is indeed on the Right Hand; but *Arabia Fœlix* is a vaſt Way diſtant to the South. Beſides, when *Alexander* had routed *Darius* at *Arbela*, he muſt paſs the *Tygris*, and march Weſtward, if, as *Curtius* ſays, he went from thence ſtraight to *Babylon*. He rather paſs'd thro' *Aſſyria* to the *Tygris*, and thence thro' *Meſopotamia* to *Babylon*. So that all this while, as they march'd Southward, *Arabia* was far diſtant on their Right Hand. However, I am not inſenſible, that in the Time of *Xenophon*, the Border of *Meſopotamia*, as far as the *Euphrates*, was alſo called *Arabia*, and deſcribed as a Spicy Region, as is manifeſt from *Book* I. *Chap.* 5. 1. of *Cyrus*'s Expedition. But the ſame Author ſays, that the River *Euphrates* was on their Right Hand, as they march'd thro' the Country Southward. I know ſome have a mind to read *Aturia* here, inſtead of *Arabia*; but *Aturia*, or *Aſſyria*, was rather on their Right Hand than their Left, as they travell'd from *Arbela* to *Babylon*; and beſides, the mention of the Spices growing there, evidently ſhews, he deſigned it for *Arabia*.

12. Of the *Tygris*, and *Euphrates*, a little after, he thus ſpeaks: "Theſe Rivers ariſe out of the Mountains of *Ar*-"*menia*, and after a vaſt Separation of their Waters, per-"form their Courſe.——The ſame Rivers, when they "enter the Countries of *Media*, and the *Gordiani*, begin "to contract their Streams, &c." This may be ſaid of the *Gordiani*, but not of *Media*, which *Euphrates* does not touch, nor even *Tygris*, which runs much more Eaſtward. *Tygris*, indeed, waſhes the Weſtern Parts of *Aſſyria*; but

* *Curtius, lib.* v. *cap.* 1. 11.

it

it is ſome Days Journey diſtant from the Confines of *Media*. I know *Diodorus Siculus*, in his Second Book, ſpeaking of theſe Rivers, ſays, that * " After they have run through " *Media*, and *Parætacenæ*, they fall into *Meſopotamia*." But he is no leſs in an Error than *Curtius*, and may eaſily be confuted, by the Authority of all Geographers, both antient and modern. *Ptolemy* calls the Northern Tract of *Perſia*, *Parætacenæ*, and that the *Tygris* reaches thoſe Parts none ever yet imagined.

13. As *Curtius* has made the Courſe of theſe two noble Rivers much longer than, in reality, it is; ſo he ſometimes makes the Tracts of Land, whereof he treats, much larger than they ought to be; for when he comes to ſpeak of *Bactria*; † " The Country, ſays he, over which they pre- " ſided, made them haughty; it gives Place to none, either " for Arms, Men, or the Extent of its Territories; for it " takes up the third Part of *Aſia*." This is ſuch a thundering Stretch, as never enter'd into the Head of any Geographer, and which none, but our Romancing Hiſtorian, could have dream'd of.

14. But *Curtius* is abundantly the furtheſt miſtaken, in confounding the *Euxine* Sea with the *Caſpian*, and Mount *Caucaſus* with *Parapamiſus*; which Error has made ſtrange Work among all the adjacent Regions. I know he was led into this Miſtake by ſome of the *Greek* Writers; but unleſs he had been utterly ignorant in Geography, he could never have ſuffered himſelf to have been ſo impoſed upon. *Eratoſthenes* the *Cyrenean*, one of thoſe who wrote the Hiſtory of *Alexander*'s Actions, has, long ago, corrected this Error, with whom (which is wonderful) *Arrian*, an Author otherways of extraordinary Judgment, ſeems almoſt afraid to comply, notwithſtanding the Thing is ſo evident. *Eratoſthenes* has inform'd us, that the *Macedonians*, in order to ſet *Alexander* upon a Level with *Bacchus*, and *Hercules*, ſpread falſe Reports, that he had carried on his Victories to the ſame Places, where they formerly carried theirs: || " They " (the *Macedonians*) transferr'd Mount *Caucaſus*, ſays he, " from *Pontus* to the moſt Eaſterly Parts of the Earth, and " the Country of *Parapamiſus* to *India*, in their Speeches, " and called *Parapamiſus* by the Name of *Caucaſus*, for " no other Reaſon, but to enhance the Glory of *Alexander*,

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*Pag. 99. *Edit. Rhod.* † *Curtius, lib.* v. *cap.* 10. 3. || *Apud Arrianum, lib.* v. *cap.* 3.

" who

who had now paſſed beyond it." *Strabo* has made the ſame Obſervation, in his Geography, *lib.* xi. *p.* 348. *Caſaub. Edit. Genev.*

15. This Error has occaſioned many others, which owe their Riſe as to this Fountain, and are to be found every where ſcattered about, in *Curtius*. We ſhall produce ſome Examples, from whence our Readers may form a Judgment of the reſt. *Darius*, in ſome of his Epiſtles to *Alexander*, ſtuff'd with the Air of a Rhetorician, very unbecoming the Gravity of a Monarch, is introduced ſaying, that " *Alex-* " *ander* muſt paſs over the *Euphrates*, *Tigris*, and *Araxes*:" as if the *Araxes* were further Eaſtward than the *Tigris*; when it is a River of *Armenia*, flowing from the Weſt, into the *Caſpian* Sea, to the South of Mount *Caucaſus*. Or if by the *Araxis* there, any *Perſian* River be meant, it muſt be too mean, and inconſiderable, to be join'd with *Tigris*, and *Euphrates*. A little after, the ſame *Darius*, degrading himſelf from the Dignity of a *Perſian* Monarch, to a Declaimer, ignorant of *Aſia*, aſks *Alexander*, * " How he " propoſes to reach the *Sogdians*, and *Arachoſians*, Nations " only known by Name, and others, as far as *Caucaſus*, and " *Tanais*?" when he himſelf was not at a much leſs Diſtance from *Caucaſus*, and *Tanais*, than *Alexander*; but becauſe *Tanais* was known to be beyond *Caucaſus*, towards the North, therefore that Mountain was removed into *Bactria*, in ſpite of Nature, in order to derive *Tanais* from thence. Again, the † *Cercetæ*, *Moſyni*, and *Chalybes*, Nations to the Eaſtward of the *Euxine Sea*, and the Southward of Mount *Caucaſus*, are ſaid to be on the Left Hand of *Hyrcania*, and on the other Hand, the *Leucoſyrians*, or *Cappadocians*; and hence their Opinions may paſs for probable, who imagine, that || " the *Palus Mœotis* empties " itſelf into the *Caſpian Sea*." Nay, he has been ſo daring, as to take whole Countries, and Rivers ſituate in *Leſſer Aſia*, to the Southward of the *Euxine Sea*, and tranſplant them into *Higher Aſia*, to the Southward of the *Caſpian Sea*. " § The *Amazonians*, ſays he, border upon *Hyrcania*, and " inhabit the Plains of *Themiſcyra*, nigh the River *Ther-* " *modoon*." Which City, and which River, every one knows, are in *Cappadocia*: and then, as tho' this Country, and *Colchos* had been the ſame, he adds, " They had to

* *Curt. lib.* vi. *cap.* 4. 4. † *Ibid. lib.* vi. *cap.* 4. 17. || *Ibid.* 18. § *Ibid. cap.* 5. 24.

" their Queen, *Thaleſtris*, who held the Sovereignty of all " the Regions between Mount *Caucaſus* and the River " *Phaſis*." Here he obſerves the true Situation of *Caucaſus*. Another Error of his, is, when he aſſerts, that the Country of the * *Arachoſians*, borders upon the *Pontick*, or *Euxine Sea*.

16. Not long after, when he has finiſhed his Account of the *Parapamiſans*, whom he deſcribes, much in the manner as we, at this Day, do the *Laplanders*; he ſays, † " The " Army proceeded to *Caucaſus*, whoſe high Back divides " *Aſia*, with one continued Ridge, ſo that from one Part " thereof, the *Cilician* Sea, from another the *Caſpian*, the " River *Araxis*, and the Deſarts of *Scythia* may be di- " ſcerned." Here, he manifeſtly confounds *Caucaſus* with *Taurus*, as the leaſt Inſpection into a Geographical Chart will eaſily convince any one; but to make ſome amends, he places *Araxis* right here, whereas a little before, he ſpoke of it as tho' it had been beyond *Tigris*. However, afterwards he diſtinguiſhes *Caucaſus* from *Taurus*: " *Tau-* " *rus*, ſays he, the ſecond Mountain for Bigneſs, and next " to *Caucaſus*, riſes in *Cappadocia*, and paſſing thro' *Cilicia*, " joins with the Mountains of *Armenia*." Not long after this, he falls into an unconſcionable Miſtake, by making the *Caſpian* and *Hyrcanian*, two different Seas: || " The " greateſt Part of the Rivers of *Aſia*, diſcharge their Wa- " ters, ſome into the *Red Sea*, ſome into the *Caſpian*, and " others into the *Hyrcanian*, and *Pontick Seas*." And, by and by, he tells us, that the § Winds blow off from the *Pontick Sea* into the Province of *Bactria*, (as if that Province were near it) and ſweep away the Sands out of the Plains there.

17. When *Alexander* had paſs'd the River *Oxus*, which is well known to fall into the *Caſpian Sea*, to the Eaſtward, *Curtius* tells us, he paſs'd on to the *Tanais*; as if there had been no River of Note between them. And here we can make no doubt, but he meant the *Tanais*, already ſpoken of; for he adds, " that *Penidas*, one of *Alexander*'s Friends, " was diſpatch'd by him, to thoſe *Scythians* who inhabit " *Europe*, to warn them not to paſs over the River *Tanais*, " without the King's Leave." ** From this whole Story, it is manifeſt, *Curtius* thought that the River *Tanais*, which

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* *Curt. lib.* vii. *cap.* 3. 4. † *Ibid.* 19. || *Ibid.* 21. § *Ibid. cap.* 4. 27. ** *Ibid. lib.* vii. *cap.* 5, 6, 7, & 8.

divided

divided the *Bactrians* from the *Scythians*, alſo divided *Aſia* from *Europe*; by which means, that vaſt Space between the *Palus Mœotis*, and the River *Jaxyrtus*, which falls into the *Caſpian Sea* Eaſtward, is quite thrown aſide. A greater Miſtake than this, can hardly be made; and we ſhall not throw away our own, nor our Reader's Time, to ſeek for more of this ſort. Perhaps ſome may endeavour to excuſe *Curtius*, by ſaying, that he was miſled into this, and the like Errors, from the *Greek* Authors, which he copied after. This, indeed, may ſomewhat palliate his Crime, but can never excuſe it; for it is not the Part of an Hiſtorian, to ſwallow whatever others have writ, without Examination. *Arrian*, towards the Concluſion of his Third Book, after he has given us an Account of this *Tanais*, aſſures us, that there is another River of the ſame Name, different from that which falls into the *Palus Mœotis*. From whatever has been obſerved upon this Article, it is evident, that *Curtius* had no Notion of the Situation of thoſe Countries, which occaſioned him to fall into perpetual Errors concerning them, and to be always guilty of mixing Things falſe, with what were true. Some have, indeed, been tampering with this Author, and trying, by their Emendations, or rather, wilful Depravations, to reconcile him to Geographical Truth, (as if any could doubt of his Unſkilfulneſs in that Particular) and to amend many Paſſages, in ſpite of all the antient Manuſcripts. Sure, if this be allowable, we ſhall henceforth (by the Criticks Aſſiſtance) read for antient Authors, not what the Antients wrote, but what they ought to have wrote, that is, what the modern Criticks are pleaſed to make them write.

CHAP. III.

Quintus Curtius *made a bad Choice of the Authors he copied from, and gives us Fables for true Hiſtory.*

ARRIAN, ſomewhere in his Hiſtory, complains, that *Alexander*'s Companions neither delivered the moſt faithful Accounts of what they knew for certain, nor the moſt probable Relations of Things whereof they were doubtful; and this he confirms, by an Example from *Ptolemy*, and *Ariſtobulus*: And there is ſcarce any, who has given himſelf the leaſt Trouble to look into Hiſtory, who has not met with many Inſtances of this ſort.

2. There are two kinds of Men, who collect Hiſtories from antient Monuments and Records, or, as *Herodian* ſays, in the Beginning of his Work, attempt to renew the Memory of old-done Deeds: One Part endeavour, as far as lies in their Power, to ſearch out Truth, and ſpare no Pains to collect the beſt Materials, and give the moſt probable Narrations, when Certainty cannot be attained: Others, are not very ſolicitous for Truth, and therefore do not give themſelves much Trouble in ſeeking after it, but chuſe rather to write Things wonderful, and ſurprizing, becauſe they are capable of receiving more Embelliſhment, and ſupply Matter for more lofty and exalted Language. Thoſe, as the ſame Hiſtorian excellently expreſſes it, "whilſt they "too greedily affect the Fame of being thought Learned, "and ſtrive to ſave their Names from Oblivion, are leſs "ſtudious in the Search after ſolid Truth, than a ſmooth, "and well-penn'd Diſcourſe; imagining, undoubtedly, that "if what they wrote was not Truth, they could hardly be "contradicted, or brought in Queſtion, in Ages remote "from theirs; and that, however, they ſhould not fail to "be read, and admired, for the Sweetneſs, and Elegancy "of their Style."

3. Among the Number of theſe latter, *Curtius* may be juſtly rank'd; his Work betrays itſelf, tho' I ſhould be ſilent; however, I ſhall produce a few Examples, and leave

leave the reſt to be ſought out by all ſuch of my Readers, as ſhall think fit to give themſelves the Trouble. In many Battles, where the *Macedonians* were Conquerors, he brings in the Numbers of the Slain, on the Enemies Side, plainly incredible; eſpecially if they be compared with the fewneſs of the *Macedonians*, who are ſaid to have fallen in the ſame Battle. In the Battle at * *Iſſus*, there fell of the *Perſians*, according to his Account, an † Hundred thouſand Foot, and Ten thouſand Horſe. A Number truly incredible in itſelf; for tho' the *Perſians* were no ways comparable to the *Macedonians*, either in Valour, or Military Skill, yet they were not mere Sheep. But it will be ſtill the more incredible, if, as *Curtius* ſays, "only Five hundred and four "were wounded on *Alexander*'s Part, and that there were no "more than Thirty and two Foot ſlain, and about an Hun-"dred and fifty Horſe." To make this probable, we muſt either ſuppoſe the *Perſians* to have fought with wooden Swords, and to have had neither Iron nor Steel fix'd to the Points of their Darts, or that the *Macedonians* were cover'd with Shields of *Vulcan*'s hammering, upon which, all the Weapons framed by mortal Hands, were immediately broke. Then the *Macedonian* Swords, and Arrows, according to this Way of reckoning, ought not only to be of the choiceſt Steel, but never to be moved or thrown in vain. Nay, *Curtius* himſelf tells us, that not only *Oxathres*, the Brother of *Darius*, but others of the *Perſian* Nobility, made a brave Reſiſtance, round the King's Perſon, and fought deſperately; and that on the Right Wing, the *Perſian* Horſe had the better. There were, moreover, no more than Thirty thouſand *Greeks* in that Battle, which were not nigh equal to the Numbers of the Enemy which fled. Who, after all this, can forbear thinking, that the *Perſians* fought only in jeſt with the *Greeks*, at leaſt for ſome Time, when the *Macedonians* could come ſo well off, as not to loſe above Two hundred Men? I own, other Hiſtorians do not differ much from him; they do not make the Number ſlain on the *Perſian* Side much fewer, nor the *Macedonians* many more; but an accurate Hiſtorian would declare, that he did not eaſily give Credit to ſuch Relations; and if he could find no Numbers which were a little more within the Compaſs of Credibility, would freely own, that, according to the beſt of his Judgment, the Authors he was forced

* *Curtius, lib.* iii. *cap.* 11. 27.

to borrow his Accounts from, had exceeded the Meaſures of Truth. * *Arrian* tells us, that One hundred thouſand *Perſians* were ſlain in that Battle, among whom were Ten thouſand Horſe; but he omits telling us the Number of *Macedonians* which fell, undoubtedly, becauſe he was aſhamed of the Folly of thoſe, who went before him, and reckon'd them no more than Two or Three hundred Men.

4. In another Battle, wherein *Alexander* utterly defeated *Darius*, and his Forces, and in which the *Perſians* are ſaid to have fought deſperately, "There fell, ſays *Curtius*, of "the *Perſians*," according as the Conquerors were able to "compute their Numbers, Forty thouſand; and of the "*Macedonians*, almoſt Three hundred." The Diſparity of thoſe Numbers, is really incredible, tho' they are far more likely, than the other. † But *Arrian* here forgets himſelf ſtrangely, and, without any regard to his Judgment, tells us, that Three hundred thouſand *Perſians* are ſaid to have fallen that Day; and of the *Macedonians*, about an Hundred But he may be pardoned this Fault, for he rarely offends thus; neither from one ſingle Slip, can any Judgment be form'd of the remaining Part of his Hiſtory.

5. But *Curtius* has not only ſuch Stories in his Accounts of Battles between the *Perſians* and *Macedonians*, but alſo in thoſe between the *Macedonians* and *Lacedæmonians*, as appears from the Beginning of his Sixth Book; and tho' Part of the Deſcription of that Battle be loſt, yet it is manifeſt, from what remains, that the *Lacedæmonians* fought ſtoutly, and cauſed the Victory to hang long in Suſpence, and few of them died unrevenged. Yea, what is more, *Curtius*, in order to paint the *Lacedæmonian* Valour in its true Colours, diſplays his whole Stock of Rhetorick in Praiſe of them. Yet after a Battle ſo reſolutely fought, "there fell, ſays he, of the *Lacedæmonians*, Five thouſand "three hundred and ſixty; but of the *Macedonians*, a little "above Three hundred." None can endure this, who knows with what Courage, and Obſtinacy, the *Lacedæmonians* are uſed to fight; that is, who has the leaſt Acquaintance with the *Greek* Hiſtory. Surely *Diodorus Siculus*, when he gives an Account of the Number of the *Lacedæmonians*, and their Confederates, ſlain there, agrees pretty near with thoſe, from whom *Curtius* has copied, and only

* *Arrian. lib.* ii. *cap.* 11. † *Ibid. lib.* iii. *cap.* 15.

abates

abates Sixty of the Number; but ſays, there fell of the * *Macedonians*, or *Antipater*'s Men, Three thouſand and five hundred. I ſhould have ſuppoſed, I had done a piece of Service, in correcting this Paſſage in *Curtius*, but he ſhews himſelf ſo perpetual a Hunter of Paradoxes, that all Mankind can never be able to amend him, as he requires.

6. Have you a deſire to know, by what Authority *Curtius* aſſumed this Privilege? Hear *Cicero*, beautifully deſcribing the Wit, and Cuſtom of thoſe Rhetoricians, who had the Ambition to commence Hiſtorians: † "It is always taken for granted, ſays he, that Rhetoricians will "introduce Lyes into Hiſtory, on purpoſe to make a Story "ſound the better: || And as thou contriveſt Falſhoods "about the Death of *Coriolanus*; *Clitarchus*, and *Stratocles* "have done the very ſame, concerning *Themiſtocles*. *Thucidides*, an *Athenian* of high Rank, and great Credit, "who lived ſoon after him, only wrote, that he died, and "was privately interr'd in *Athens*, and that there was ſome "Suſpicion, that he was poiſoned: To which they add, "that when he had offered a Bull in Sacrifice, he took a "Goblet of the Blood, and having drunk it, fell down "dead. Thus they make him die in a Rhetorical, and "Tragic Manner; for your common and ordinary Deaths "afford no Matter of Embelliſhment for their Writings."

7. For the ſame Reaſon, *Curtius* has greedily ſnatch'd at all the Fables which he found in antient Writers, (which a judicious Hiſtorian, and a Regarder of Truth, would either have omitted, or detected of Falſhood) and employ'd all his Rhetorick, to make them paſs for Truth. Such is the Fable of *Thaleſtris*, Queen of the *Amazons*, who is ſaid to have come to *Alexander*, on purpoſe to have a Child by him. This *Curtius* tells ſeriouſly: § "The *Amazo*-"*nians*, ſays he, border upon *Hyrcania*, and inhabit the "Plains of *Themiſcyra*, near the River *Thermodoon*; "they had to their Queen, *Thaleſtris*, who held the Sove-"reignty of all the Country between Mount *Caucaſus*, and "the River *Phaſis*." We have already ſhew'd the vaſt Error in the Geography here, which is much more abſurd, becauſe *Alexander*'s March, as deſcribed by *Curtius*, led him directly thro' the Country, and, of Conſequence, ſhews

* *Diod. Sic. lib.* xvii. *p.* 357. † *In Bruto*, N° 42, 43.
|| *Atticus* here ſpeaks of, and alluded to what *Cicero* ſaid concerning *Coriolanus*'s Death. § *Curtius, lib.* vi. *cap.* 5.

us, that all their Boasts about a Nation of *Amazons*, is no more than an empty Fable; for if *Phasis*, and *Caucasus*, had been to the East of *Hyrcania*, and the Country between, subject to *Thalestris*, *Alexander*, in his Way to the *Bactrians*, and *Sogdians*, must necessarily have pass'd thro' her Territories, and, of Consequence, would have required Aids from her, to assist him in making War upon the neighbouring Countries, which we no where find he did: Howbeit, after *Curtius* has told this single Story, he drops her, and her *Amazons*, and never once mentions them more.

8. However, he proceeds thus; "She, desirous of seeing "the King, took a Journey out of her own Territories, "(to *Hyrcania*, for *Alexander* was there then) and when "she was now, not far distant from him, she sent to ac- "quaint him, that a Queen was coming, who was desirous "to see, and know him: Whereupon, Leave being given, "she left all her Train there, and only approach'd his "Presence with Three hundred Female Attendants, *&c.*" The rest I shall not take the Trouble of transcribing; those who have a mind, may read it in *Curtius*: I shall also forbear declaring it a Fable; for whoever cannot smell that out, wants a Nose, and is not worthy to have good Sense thrown away upon him. The Origin of this Fable has been already shewn by my Father, as you may see at large, in *Quæstionum Academicarum*, *lib.* 11.

9. Those Stories which he has told, in such blustering Terms, concerning the Dread, and Surprize of the *Macedonians*, * when they first beheld the ebbing and flowing of the Tide, in the Ocean, are also fabulous; for the *Greeks* knew as much before, as is manifest from *Herodotus*, and many other Writers, who flourished long before *Alexander*'s Time. Besides, the *Macedonians* might have suspended their Fears a little, and ask'd Advice of the *Persians*, who were in *Alexander*'s Army, and had dwelt near the Sea-shore. Add to this, that the Tide upon the *Indian* Coast is but small, and, of Consequence, incapable of raising such Horror. I could easily be induced to believe, that the regular ebbing and flowing of the Tide, might cause the *Macedonians* to wonder; but that it was such a Terror to them as *Curtius* would persuade us, I can by no means allow. However, had he told the plain Truth of the Story, all that

* *Curtius*, *lib.* ix. *cap.* 9.

Rhetorical Daubing had been quite uſeleſs, and a fine Opportunity of ſhewing his Wit, by deſcribing a vain, and ill-timed Fear, utterly loſt. None alſo can with Patience endure to read the Story of his Fiſh, left by the Sea, and walking upon the dry Land: "The Monſters, ſays he, "being thrown aſhore by the Waves, walk'd about dread-"fully."

10. Nor is there a Grain of Truth in that Story, at the Concluſion of his Work, concerning the Corpſe of *Alexander*, "The King's Body had now lain in the Royal Pa-"villion ſeven Days.— And there is no hotter Clime, "than that of *Meſopotamia*, inſomuch that ſeveral Crea-"tures, which lie upon the Ground, expoſed to it, are "kill'd thereby: So exceſſive is the Heat of the Sun, and "Air, that all Things are, in a manner, ſcorch'd with "Fire.——— His Friends were then ſtudious how to pre-"ſerve the dead Body; but when they enter'd the Place "where it lay, they found it firm, and ſound, and no "Marks of Corruption, nor ſo much as a Blueneſs to be "diſcern'd about it: The Livelineſs alſo which is cauſed "by the animal Spirits, was ſtill to be ſeen in his Coun-"tenance." Theſe were Lyes, hatch'd by *Alexander*'s Sycophants, even after his Death, or the Fictions of Declaimers; that as every Part of his Life was wonderful, ſo his Death might be embelliſh'd in a Tragical, and Rhetorical Manner. This is evident, from comparing *Curtius* with the other Hiſtorians, which *Freinſhemius* furniſhes us with; and the Silence of *Arrian*, who is ſo accurate in ſuch Matters, is no ſmall Teſtimony againſt him.

11. But this, ſome may ſay, *Curtius* had from others, whom *Plutarch* commends. I neither commend, nor condemn him, for copying from others; but he ought to have given that neceſſary Caution, which * *Arrian* has taken care to furniſh us with, on another Occaſion; "Theſe "Things, ſays he, are rather added, that my Readers "might perceive, I was not ignorant of ſuch Reports, than "that I give any Credit to them, or think them worth the "Rehearſal." I muſt confeſs, *Curtius* has, once, given us a Hint of this kind, to ſignify, he did not believe all he wrote; but this ought to have been often repeated, as *Arrian* has prudently done, and particularly in thoſe Places which we have brought againſt him, he might eaſily have

* *Arrian, lib.* vii. towards the Concluſion.

added,

added, as he has done, once, elſewhere; * "I copy more "than I give Credit to; and am neither willing to induce "others to believe, what I am doubtful in myſelf, nor to "make them doubt, what I have received for Truth." If this had been every where done, we ſhould have praiſed his Diligence, without ſo much as inquiring into his Veracity, or Judgment.

CHAP. IV.

Some Things are very ill deſcribed by Quintus Curtius, *and others told, which are manifeſtly falſe.*

IN his Deſcription of the Hook'd Chariots, which the *Perſians* uſed, he has theſe Words; "At the End of "the Pole, long Spears were fix'd, pointing forwards; and "on each Side from the Body of the Chariot, three Swords "were placed." This is not difficult to be underſtood; but what follows, would be extreamly difficult, if not altogether unintelligible, unleſs we depart from the Propriety of the Words, and underſtand not ſo much what *Curtius* ſaid, as what he would have ſaid; "And among the "Spokes of the Wheels, more Spears ſtand forth, directed "right forwards; ſome Scythes were fix'd aloft, to the "higheſt Part of the Circumference of the Wheels, and "others below, towards the Earth, to cut in pieces who-"ever lay proſtrate, or fell in their Way."

2. Among the Spokes of the Wheels, properly ſpeaking, nothing could ſtand forth, which would not ſtop the Motion of the Chariot. Beſides, what means he by right forward? Can Spears ſtand forth, and not point right forward? Then what are the higheſt Parts of the Circumference of the Wheels? Are they not the Ring, or Rounding? If ſo, in the Ring, or Rounding, there is neither higher nor lower Part, while the Wheel is in Motion, be-

* *Lib.* iv. *cap.* 1. 34.

cauſe

cauſe every Part thereof is higheſt, and loweſt, by Turns. *Curtius* underſtood it thus, as appears by what follows; "And others fix'd below, towards the Earth." How could Scythes be fix'd at the loweſt Extremity of the Ring of the Chariot, which ſhould not hinder its Motion? * *John Scheffer* judged rightly, that this Deſcription was very much intangled, and imperfect; and ſo it was deem'd by *Godeſc Stevechius*, and *Matthæus Raderus*, inſomuch that neither of them durſt venture to take a Draught from it.

3. But where-ever *Curtius* had this Deſcription of a Hook'd Chariot, he ſeem'd not to have underſtood his Author, from whence he took it. He ought not to have ſaid, that the Scythes ſtood forth from among the Spokes, but from the Nave of the Wheel; then, that two Scythes ſtood forth from the End of the Axle-tree, one right forward, about the Length of the Axle-tree itſelf, the other tranſverſe, and pointed toward the Ground. The Scythes, and Spears, thus ſtanding forth from the Wheels, or Axle-tree, and that bent downwards from the Axle-tree, were not only deſigned to cut and tear in pieces all who ſtood in their Way, but alſo to deſtroy all thoſe, who happened either to be thrown down by the Horſes, or the Tumult, and Hurry of the People, and lay not far diſtant.

4. That this, or ſomething like it, was the Form of the Hook'd Chariots, I am fully aſſured, having the Evidence of two antient Authors on my Side, the one a *Latin*, the other a *Greek*. *Livy* deſcribes them thus; † "The "Hook'd Chariots—— were, moſt commonly, arm'd after "this manner; The two Scythes, which they had from "the Beam, were ſhaped like Horns, and full ten Cubits "in Length, wherewith they tore, and rent in pieces what-"ever they met; and at the End of the Axle-tree, two "others ſtood forth, one right forward, the other pointed "downward, to cut aſunder, and make Havock of what-"ever lay near them" For theſe four Scythes, *Curtius* has three Swords, which are not capable of doing half the Execution. The reſt he deſcribes thus; "Alſo at the "Naves of the Wheels, two others were fix'd, in the ſame "manner as the former." *Curtius* aimed at ſomething like this, in theſe Words; "And other Scythes in the higheſt

* *Scheffer, de re Vehiculari, lib.* xi. *cap.* 15. † *Livy, lib.* xxxvii. *cap.* 41.

"Part

" Part of the Circumference, *&c.*" But his Deſcription is abſurd, and would be unintelligible, if *Livy* did not help us to his Meaning. *Diodorus Siculus*, diſcourſing of Hook'd Chariots, gives us this Deſcription of them; * " From each " of them, ſays he, at the End of the Pole were fix'd Spears " of three Spans in Length, looking directly againſt the " Enemies Ranks." This anſwers to the former Part of *Curtius*'s Deſcription, and what follows to the latter; " And in the Nave of the Axle-tree, (that is, beneath the " Chariot, where the Axle-tree holds it up) two other " Darts ſtood out, pointed in like manner, againſt the Ene- " mies Ranks, but broader and longer than the former. " Scythes were alſo fix'd upon theſe Extremities, (that is, " the Ends of the Axle-trees.)" I fancy, from theſe, or ſome ſuch like Deſcriptions, ill underſtood, *Curtius* has taken his abſurd, and imperfect one; for which ſee *John Scheffer*, who has taken ſome Pains to reconcile *Curtius* to common Senſe, by ſubſtituting Naves, for the outermoſt Ring, or Circumference. But to me, it is no Wonder, that a Man uſed all his Life-time to declaiming, ſhould err in ſuch a Deſcription; and I would not have *Scheffer*, or any one elſe, pretend to make him ſkill'd in Military Terms, in ſpite of all the Manuſcript Copies of his Work. *Lucian* mocks a certain *Corinthian* Hiſtorian, by telling him, " He " had never ſo much as ſeen a Battle painted on a Wall, " nor knew what Arms, nor military Engines were." For which Reaſon, he would have a Man, at leaſt, to have ſeen all theſe Things, before he attempts to commence Hiſtorian.

5. However, conſidering him as a Rhetorician, we may well forgive his erroneous Deſcriptions of Hook'd Chariots, which he had never ſeen; but he is hardly excuſable, when he ſtumbles, and heſitates, in Things which were obvious, and plain, and contradicts himſelf. Thus he deſcribes the Field of Battle, where *Alexander* overcame *Darius*, the ſecond Time; † " The Country, ſays he, was a ſmooth, " and wide Plain, fit for the drawing up an Army upon: " not ſo much as a Branch, or Stump of a Tree, was to be " ſeen; but the Eye had a full, and unbounded Proſpect " on all Hands, even as far as it could reach." After he had ſaid thus much, who could ever have dream'd, that he would have added; " Therefore, where there were any

* *Diod. Sic. lib.* xvii. *p.* 530. † *Curtius, lib.* iv. *cap.* 9. 10.

" Hillocks,

" Hillocks, he order'd them to be levell'd, and the whole " Surface to be made plain." * This is a plain Contradiction to what he had ſaid juſt before; and that they might have hung together, inſtead of ſaying, " the Coun- " try was a ſmooth, and wide Plain," he ought to have ſaid, the Country was, almoſt every where, a ſmooth, and wide Plain; and then he might have ſubjoin'd, " Where " there were any Hillocks, *&c.*" Nay, ſo fond is he of theſe Hillocks, and ſo unwilling to part with them, notwithſtanding what he has ſaid before, that he ſwells one of them into a high Hill, and ſome others into Mountains: " † Upon the high Hill, *Mazæus*, with a choice Troop of " Horſe, poſted themſelves, but ſoon retired from thence, " and returned to *Darius*. However, the *Macedonians* " ſeized that very Hill, which *Mazæus* had juſt left, be- " cauſe it was a ſafer Poſt for them than the level Field; " beſides, from thence they could eaſily have had a full " View of all the Enemies Troops, which lay extended " on the Plain.— But the Miſt, which was among the " Mountains, hindered the Proſpect of the Ranks, and " Orders of their Army." Theſe are Contradictions; for Hills, and Mountains, no doubt, bound the Sight; yet *Arrian*, in his Deſcription of this Field of Battle, has ſomething not much different from this.

6. When *Alexander* had advanced, with his Army, as far as the River *Hyphaſis*, || he begins to doubt, " whether " the *Macedonians*, having traverſed ſuch a vaſt Part of the " Earth, are not become old in the Service." If this be underſtood of *Alexander*'s Wars, it is abſurd; he reigned but few Years, and made War with *Darius* yet fewer. *Curtius* himſelf was not wholly ignorant of this; for a little after, he brings in *Alexander* ſpeaking thus; § " Have I " conquer'd both Regions, in the Tenth Year of my Reign, " and the Twenty-ninth of my Age, and muſt I now ceaſe " the Purſuit of Glory, to which alone I had devoted my- " ſelf?" But ſome may ſay, They had been in *Philip*'s Wars before, which are therefore to be joined with thoſe of *Alexander*. However, this is a needleſs Surmiſe, becauſe the Stipends they had fought for under *Philip*, ought not to be imputed to his Son *Alexander*.

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† *Curtius, lib.* iv. *cap.* 12. 19. *&c.* || *Lib.* ix. *cap.* 11. 10.
§ *Ibid. cap.* 6. 21.

7. But

7. But not to ſtifle any thing which may be ſaid in *Curtius*'s Behalf, the Word *Senex*, which he there uſes, ſometimes ſignifies a Man who is not very much advanced in Years, as may be gathered from *Livy*, where he introduces *Hannibal*, that veteran Commander, ſpeaking thus; * "As to "myſelf, my Age perſuades me to return, an Old Man, into "my Country, from whence I went out a Youth; for the "Mixture of Proſperity, and Adverſity, which I have al-"ready tried, has taught me rather, henceforth, to follow "the Dictates of Reaſon, than ſubject myſelf to the Ca-"price of Fortune." However, ſome Time after, the ſame *Hannibal* tells the *Carthaginians*, † "that at Thirty-ſix "Years of Age, he had been ſent forth to fight for them, "the Space of Nine Years." He was then, therefore, but Forty-five, which can ſcarce be term'd Old, if we take *Senilis Ætas* in the ſame Senſe as the *Greeks* underſtand γῆρας; but it may be underſtood thus, only in Oppoſition to Childhood, or Youth, and ſo properly enough term'd *Senilis Ætas*; and ſo the Soldiers in *Alexander*'s Army, who had only followed his Fortunes Eight Years, might be ſaid to be *Senes facti*, if they were arrived to the Age when *Hannibal* term'd himſelf ſo, and much more truly, if ſome of them had then borne Arms the ſpace of Fifty Years.

8. *Cœnus*, in a Speech which he makes in behalf of the whole Army, has theſe Expreſſions; "Our Darts are now "blunted; we have no offenſive Arms: —— || How few "among us have Coats of Mail? Who has a Horſe remain-"ing?" Theſe are ſuch far-fetch'd Hyperboles, that they are direct Lyes, contradictory to all Hiſtory, which aſſures us, that *Alexander*'s Army fought ſeveral Battles after this; which they would hardly have done, without Weapons: Beſides, had thoſe they carried from *Macedonia* been worn out, they might be furniſhed with ſufficient Supplies in *Aſia*; and ſuch a General, would never ſuffer his Troops to go unarmed. *Curtius*, therefore, could not have put theſe Words into the Mouth of *Cœnus*, unleſs he had forgot himſelf, and ſuffered his Senſe to be hurried away, by the Impetuoſity of his Style.

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* *Livy, lib.* xxx. *cap.* 30. † *Ibid. cap.* 37.
|| *Curt. lib.* ix. *cap.* 3. 10. 11.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Quintus Curtius *often dwells upon unneceſſary Subjects, and omits Things really material.*

AS the Incidents in *Alexander*'s Life, are in a manner infinite, and the Events innumerable, all cannot be recorded; not only becauſe many of them never come to the Knowledge of an Hiſtorian, but alſo becauſe he ought to ſhew his Judgment, by this Choice: All unneceſſary Things are therefore to be rejected, and only thoſe conducing to the Series of the Hiſtory retained. In a jejune, and barren Subject, indeed, and which, without ſome additional Embelliſhment, would be bald, and unpleaſant, the Deſcriptions of common Accidents may be endured: But where the Theme is copious, they are abſolutely intolerable. However, thus Hiſtorians have acted, as is evident from the before-mentioned Book of *Lucian*; "There are ſome, ſays he, "who either omit, or careleſsly paſs over Affairs of the "higheſt Moment; and, by reaſon of their Unſkilfulneſs, "or Folly, or Ignorance of what ought to be told, and "what left out, they dwell upon Trifles, and proſecute "them with the greateſt Eagerneſs imaginable." Such are the Deſcriptions wherewith *Quintus Curtius*, above all others, every where abounds, as ſhall be fully made out, by the following Particulars.

2. What is more common, or better known, than Rivers? and yet how frequent are their Deſcriptions, every where interſperſed thro' his Work; not that the Reader is ſuppoſed to want any Information of the Nature of each of them, or that any memorable Action happened upon their Banks, which might cauſe a ſhort hiſtorical Account of them; but that we ſhould admire the Writer's Eloquence, by his Manner of deſcribing them. Thus he paints forth *Marſyas*, a River of *Phrygia*; "The River *Marſyas*, "ſays he, celebrated by the fabulous *Greek* Stories, at that "Time overflowed the Country of *Media*: It riſes from the "Top of a Mountain, and falls into a Rock below, with a "great Noiſe. Thence it ſpreads itſelf abroad, and waters

"the

" the circumjacent Fields, running in a clear, and limpid " Stream, and receiving no other into its Boſom. Its Co- " lour, therefore, reſembling that of a calm Sea, has given " occaſion to the Fictions of the Poets, who report, That " the Nymphs, enamour'd with this River, choſe to place " themſelves upon that Rock. As long as it keeps within " the Walls, it retains its firſt Name; but as ſoon as it " glides thro' thoſe Barriers, it proceeds with greater " Strength and Force, and aſſumes the Name of *Lycus*." Had *Alexander* met with any Difficulty in paſſing this River, or had any notable Action happen'd near it, this Account might have been endured: But that the Reader may be ſatisfied how impertinent it is, let him but omit it, and paſs it over in the reading, and he will find the Hiſtory full as good without it. I can bear with *Curtius*'s Deſcription of the River *Cydnus*, which flows thro' *Tarſus*, becauſe *Alexander* reſolving to waſh himſelf therein, when he was hot with travelling, had no ſooner enter'd it, than he was ſeiz'd with a grievous Diſtemper: I ſay, I can without any Pain read, " that * *Cydnus* is not ſo remarkable " for the Quantity, as the Quality of her Waters; ſhe " riſes in a flat Country, and glides gently thro' a fine Soil, " receiving no Brooks to trouble the natural Pureneſs of " her own Stream. She therefore paſſes unmix'd, and ex- " ceſſive cold, as being ſhaded, all along, by tall, and plea- " ſant Trees, growing on her Banks, and falls into the Sea " in the ſame manner as ſhe flow'd from her Fountains." Theſe Things might induce *Alexander* to bath himſelf in her Boſom, and are not therefore foreign to the Purpoſe of an Hiſtorian.

3. But his Account of *Paſitigris* is wholly uſeleſs, as may appear thro' the Work. Thus, however, he deſcribes it: I have quoted his own Words, on purpoſe that the Reader may underſtand, by his tedious Deſcriptions of Rivers, how vaſtly he values himſelf upon the Art of deſcribing them; † " The King, ſays he, on the fourth Day " after, pitch'd his Tents on the Banks of a River, which " the Inhabitants call *Paſitigris*: It ariſes among the Moun- " tains of the *Uxii*, and ruſhes thro' a woody Country, in " a rocky Channel, the Space of Fifty Stadia. Then, con- " tinuing its Courſe along a flat Country, it there glides " freely on, and becomes navigable; and thus, after a calm,

* *Curtius, lib.* iii. *cap.* 4. 8. † *Ibid. lib.* v. *cap.* 3. 1.

" and

" and quiet Race, of Six hundred Stadia, thro' a fruitful " Soil, it diſcharges its Waters into the *Perſian* Sea." What did *Alexander* here, to merit this Deſcription? Why, nothing, but only that he paſſed over it.

4. A little after, he falls to deſcribing the Rivers *Araxes*, and *Medus*, which he calls * *Perſian* Rivers, to full as much purpoſe, as he did thoſe before; † " The River " *Araxes*, ſays he, empties itſelf with a great Torrent, into " the *Medus*. *Medus* is a leſs River than that which it " receives, and continues its Courſe *(a Mari)* Southwards: " Where-ever the Water of it comes, it renders the Place " exceeding fruitful, and cauſes it to produce great Plenty " of Flowers; Palm-Trees, and Poplar-Trees cloath its " Banks, and grow ſo thick, that they appear afar off no " other than one continued pleaſant Grove. Its Channel " is deep, yet notwithſtanding, the Moiſture aſcends to the " Roots of the Trees, and contributes to their bringing " forth Leaves, and Boughs in great Plenty." I ſhall not be ſo impertinent here, as to inquire, what his *Mari verſus* ſignifies, when he is diſcourſing about a River. Here may be ſome Error in the Copy, as the Learned ſuſpect. However, the luxuriant Style of the Rhetorician, and his inſignificant Deſcriptions of theſe Rivers, is abundantly ſhew'd.

5. Perhaps his Digreſſion concerning *Zioberus*, a River of *Hyrcania*, may be a little more excuſable, becauſe *Alexander* had a Deſire of knowing ſomething which was ſingular in its Courſe, by his own Experience. However, that alone ought to have been told plainly, and ſignificantly, and not a long Detail of other Things, foreign to the Purpoſe. Thus he deſcribes it; ‖ " The Wood, with thick, and " lofty Trees, yields a very delightful Shade, and the fer- " tile Earth is watered with Rivulets flowing from all " Parts of the neighbouring Rocks. The River *Zioberus* " iſſues from the Foot of a Mountain, and runs almoſt " Three Furlongs in Length, in one Stream; but then, " being hindered by a Rock, which cuts the Water, it di- " vides itſelf into two Parts, and then, a little further, " ſinks under the Earth, with a great Noiſe, cauſed by the " Ruggedneſs of the Stones, thro' which it paſſes. It runs

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* *Curt. lib.* v. *cap.* 4. 7. † *Curtius* ought to be careful, that theſe be not *Armenian* Rivers, when he poſitively calls them *Perſian* ones. See *Strabo, lib.* xv. *p.* 729. *Curt. lib.* vi. *cap.* 4. 4.

" thus under Ground Three hundred Furlongs, and then " again breaks forth afreſh, as if there it had its Fountain, " ſending forth a new Stream, far broader than the former; " for it is, there, above Thirteen Furlongs in Breadth, and " ſo grows narrower by degrees, till at length it falls into " another River, call'd *Ridago*. The Inhabitants affirm, " that whatever is let fall into the Cavern, at the firſt Foun- " tain, will come up again at the ſecond; upon this Occa- " ſion, *Alexander* commanded two Oxen to be thrown in " at the firſt, whoſe Bodies were accordingly ſeen (by " thoſe he had ſent) to aſcend at the ſecond, driven out by " the Violence of the Stream." The Knowledge of this laſt Article, was all *Alexander* wanted; and it had been enough for him to have told his Reader, that after the River had hid itſelf under Ground, it burſt forth again: The reſt is all Stuff, and the Buſineſs of a Declaimer, not of an Hiſtorian.

6. Thus he proceeds to deſcribe *Polytimetus*, a River of *Sogdiana*; * " The River call'd by the Natives *Poly-* " *timetus*, runs almoſt the whole Length of the Country: " This River is but narrow, but very rapid, and at laſt it " runs under Ground, where the Courſe of it may be heard; " but upon all the Places it runs over, not one Spring is to " be found." I could add to theſe, his Accounts of the † *Indian* Rivers, but I am weary of tranſcribing ſuch uſeleſs Epiſodes; and I do not queſtion, but by this Time, my Reader is as weary with reading them.

7. However, *Curtius* was not the only antient Author, who tranſgreſs'd in this Particular, as is evident from *Lucian*, who thus ſpeaks of a certain *Greek* Hiſtorian; " One, " ſays he, who was famous for a Volubility of Speech, who " being equal, in his own Conceit, or ſomewhat ſuperior " to *Thucidides*, took an Opportunity of deſcribing every " City, Mountain, Field, and River, which came in his " Way, in the moſt glaring, and lively Colours imaginable." For that Reaſon, he afterwards eſtabliſhed it as a Maxim, to be obſerved by Hiſtorians, that none ſhould trifle away his own, and Reader's Time, in unneceſſary Deſcriptions: His Words we ſhall quote in the VIIIth Chapter.

8. If you compare *Curtius* diligently with other Writers of *Alexander*'s Life, and eſpecially with *Arrian*, it will appear, that he has omitted many Circumſtances, which con-

* *Curtius*, *lib.* vii. *cap.* 10. 2. † *Lib.* viii. *cap.* 9.

duce

duce not a little to the Series of the Hiſtory, and to make all the reſt intelligible. I remember, I once took notice of ſeveral, but ſhall only here produce one, but that a very remarkable one, whereby the Reader may judge of the reſt. When I read the Deſcription of the Battle at *Iſſus*, in *Curtius*, before I had conſulted *Arrian*, he ſeem'd to me to err in Point of Geography, as he frequently does elſewhere, becauſe he had omitted one very material Circumſtance: He ſays, that * " on the ſame Night, *Alexander* arrived " at the Streights, by which *Syria* is enter'd, and *Darius* " at thoſe of *Amanus*." *Darius* march'd from *Euphrates*, and *Alexander* from *Tarſus*; † therefore *Alexander*'s Right Wing ought to have extended towards the *Cilician* Sea, and the Left towards the Mountains: and, on the other hand, *Darius*'s Right Wing ſhould have ſtretch'd towards the Mountains, and the Left to the Sea. Notwithſtanding all which, *Curtius* tells us, that || *Darius*'s Right Wing ſtretch'd out to the Sea, and § *Alexander*'s Left Wing was extended towards the Mountains. This I could not comprehend, nor is it poſſible to be comprehended, by *Curtius*'s Narration: But caſting my Eyes upon *Arrian*, the whole Myſtery was revealed; for he tells us, that *Alexander* receiving Intelligence, that *Darius* was at *Sochos*, march'd from *Mallos* to the Streights of *Amanus*, which he paſs'd, and encamp'd near the City *Myriandrus*: and that *Darius*, not knowing that *Alexander* had paſs'd theſe Streights, paſs'd them himſelf, in his Way to *Cilicia*, and ſeiz'd upon *Iſſus*. Therefore, that they might come to an Engagement, it was then neceſſary, that *Alexander* ſhould turn from *Syria*, towards *Cilicia*, and that *Darius* ſhould alſo turn his Troops to meet him. ‡ " *Darius*, ſays *Arrian*, having " paſs'd the Mountain, which is nigh the Streights of " *Amanus*, directed his March towards *Iſſus*, not knowing " that *Alexander*'s whole Force was now behind him: " However, *Alexander* underſtanding how the Caſe ſtood, " ** diſpatch'd ſome of his Horſe, and Archers, to clear " the Road to the Streights, which he was obliged to paſs; " which done, the Night following, he moved, with his " whole Army, to take Poſſeſſion of them again." This

* *Curtius, lib.* iii. *cap.* 8. 13. † To underſtand this perfectly, the Reader ought to have a Map of Leſſer *Aſia* before him.
|| *Curt. lib.* iii. *cap.* 8. 27. § *Ibid. cap.* 9. 8. ‡ *Arrian, lib.* ii. *cap.* 6. ** *Ib. lib.* ii. *cap.* 7.

being performed accordingly, *Alexander* drew up his Army, the Right Wing thereof being extended to the Mountains, and the Left Wing to the Sea.

9. The Matter is now plain: However, two Things ſeem ſtill ſomewhat ſtrange in this Story, firſt, how *Darius* came not to know that the *Macedonians* lay encamp'd at *Myriandrus*, (for if his Spies could not find that out, ſure the Inhabitants thereabouts, who were then in *Darius*'s Intereſt, could not be ignorant of it;) and ſecondly, what could be the Reaſon, that when *Alexander* knew that *Darius*'s mighty Army was juſt paſſing thoſe Streights, he did not attack them, when the Part which had paſs'd them, would have been incapable of ſuccouring their Friends; by which Stratagem, that great Army might have been eaſily overcome, without Hazard? And that the Matter ſtood thus, is evident, by the Diſpoſition of the Wings of both Armies. But Things which are moſt to the Purpoſe, ought leaſt to have been omitted by *Curtius*, eſpecially ſeeing ſuch an Omiſſion renders him perfectly unintelligible.

10. "On the ſame Night, ſays he, *Alexander* arrived "at the Streights of *Syria*, and *Darius* at thoſe of *Amanus*." The Streights of *Syria*, according to * *Strabo*, are beyond *Myriandrus*, and thoſe of *Amanus*, not far from *Iſſus*. But it muſt be ſaid, once for all, that this was occaſioned by the Miſtake of both Armies, ſeeking one another in a wrong Place: However, this Miſtake was a Point neceſſary to have been taken notice of. But if I may be allowed to ſpeak my Sentiments, I am of Opinion, that *Curtius* copied after ſome Author who had omitted this Circumſtance, without knowing that any thing material was wanting. What follows, confirms me in this, when he tells us, that "thoſe *Macedonians*, whom *Darius* had taken in the City "of *Iſſus*, (which was to the Weſtward of the Streights of "*Amanus*) and cut off their Hands, entered the *Macedo*-"*nian* Camp, and told them, that *Darius* was following "them, as hard as he could march." Now it is plain, they could not properly ſay, *Darius* followed them, foraſmuch as they knew not that he entered *Cilicia*, ſoon after *Alexander* entered *Syria*.

11. In the mean time, the Diſpoſition of the Wings of both Armies was true, as *Curtius* had given it; but then it was not to be underſtood, by his bare Narration. Hence we may eaſily gather, that, in ſhort Hiſtories eſpecially,

* *Strabo, lib.* xiv.

ſome

ſome Difficulties may occur, which it will be no eaſy matter to account for, and which, ſometimes, will be impoſſible for us to find out; not that the Hiſtorians themſelves are guilty of manifeſt Errors, but becauſe they have omitted ſome Circumſtances, without which, the Series of the Story is not to be underſtood. That, which in itſelf may be never ſo true, may, by the Omiſſion of one Circumſtance in the Relation, appear a Fiction; unleſs ſome other Hiſtorian happens to be at hand, who has given us a more ample Account of the Matter. An Hiſtorian ought not, therefore, to be raſhly accuſed of Falſity, tho' the ſeveral Parts of his Hiſtory do not ſeem to hang well together; we ought rather to muſter up Arguments to convince ourſelves, how the Matter ought to be underſtood, in any other Senſe: If we fail in this, the ſafeſt Way is to ſuſpend our Judgment, and let the Matter reſt, till ſome other Hiſtorian clears it up to our Hands.

12. I could eaſily ſhew another ſort of Omiſſion in *Curtius*, but becauſe the beſt of our Hiſtorians are guilty of the ſame, notwithſtanding it is inconſiſtent with the Laws of an accurate Narration, I ſhall but barely mention it. We often take notice, that a Circumſtance is omitted in the foregoing Part of a Diſcourſe, upon which a great Part of the reſt has a Dependance, which Circumſtance, perhaps, is in itſelf of no Importance; however, it ought either to be mentioned by an Hiſtorian, or all thoſe Parts of the Narration which have a Dependance thereon, wholly omitted. All Things are not to be recorded by an Hiſtorian, 'tis true; but at the ſame time, nothing ought to be left out, by thoſe, who aim at Accuracy this Way, which will afford new Light to the Narration, if the Knowledge thereof be poſſible to be gained. As for Example, *Curtius*, when he deſcribes *Darius*'s Manner of embattling his Army, adds, "* that they placed the King's Wife, and Mother, and "whole Train of Women, in the Middle of the Hoſt;" after this, he proceeds to the Deſcription of the *Macedonians*, and then to the Battle. No Mortal, who read only thus far, would doubt but that *Darius*'s Wife, and Mother, and all the reſt of the Female Train, were preſent in the Battle: But from the Sequel, it is plain, they were not there, but in the Camp, and were ſo ignorant of the Diſpoſition of the Army, as not to know in which Wing *Darius* ſtood.

* *Curtius, lib.* iii. *cap.* 9. 6.

Therefore, had this former Circumſtance been true, *Curtius* ought to have added, that *Darius*'s Wife, and Mother, indeed, ſaw the Army drawn up, but before the Trumpets ſounded the Alarm, they return'd into the Camp. Or if he choſe not to have inſerted this Circumſtance, he ought to have omitted the other.

13. In his Account of the Expedition againſt the * *Bactrians*, he has this Paſſage; "He thence returned to *Cra-*"*terus*, who beſieged *Artacacna*, *&c.*" Of which Siege, there was not ſo much as a Syllable mentioned before; for what he had ſaid elſewhere, of *Craterus* being left to carry on the Siege, *&c.* relates to another Town. And elſewhere, after he has deſcribed † *Ptolemy*, with all the Horſe under his Command, riding along the Banks of the River *Hydaſpes*, to ſeek a fordable Place, in order to attack a Party of *Porus*'s Army, over-againſt him, while *Alexander* was paſſing the ſame River, a little above; he then proceeds directly to an Account of the Battle itſelf, where he aſſures us, ‡ *Ptolemy* was preſent, tho' he never acquainted us, that he had paſs'd the River. But the Matter, you may perhaps ſay, was ſufficiently plain of itſelf; for *Ptolemy* could not poſſibly have been preſent with his Party, at the Battle, unleſs he had paſs'd it. But he might have ſtopp'd a little here, the Circumſtance was of Importance enough to have been remember'd, by the Addition of one ſmall Word or two. I ſhall not take notice, in this Place, that the Story is differently told by *Arrian*, from *Ptolemy* himſelf, a Party concerned, and an Eye-witneſs; for that is not my preſent Inquiry.

14. A juſt, and exact Narration will not admit of any ſuch Omiſſions; but becauſe *Curtius* has this Error in common with ſome of the beſt of our Hiſtorians, we ſhall overlook his Faults, for their ſakes, leſt we be thought to paſs too harſh a Cenſure, upon the great Ornaments of their Age. Others have already collected Examples of this ſort; we ſhall therefore add only one, which occurs to our Memory while we are writing: It is a Paſſage in *Herodian*, where that moſt elegant Author, writing concerning *Pertinax*, ſays; "But afterwards, when Fame had noiſed abroad, "what he had ſaid in the Senate-Houſe, or what he had "wrote to the People, every one was glad." Whereas there

* *Curtius, lib.* vi. *cap.* 6. 33. † *Ibid. lib.* viii. *cap.* 13. 18.
‡ *Ibid. cap.* 14. 15.

was

was no Mention made before, of any Speech which *Pertinax* had made in the Senate, or any thing he had wrote to the People.

15. Several learned Men have found, by comparing *Curtius* with *Arrian*, and other Writers, who take notice of *Alexander*'s Acts, even in a curſory Way, * that "*Curtius* "hurries his Hiſtory on abundantly too faſt, towards the "Concluſion, inſomuch that he is forced to omit ſeveral "Things of great Importance, and to touch others but "ſlightly over: The Expedition againſt the ſecond *Porus*, "for Example, who was Nephew to the firſt great Monarch "of that Name, of whom, beſides *Arrian*, *Strabo* takes "notice, he has given us in one ſingle Word." Other Examples of this kind might be brought; but we too are in haſte to come to the Concluſion of this Chapter.

CHAP. VI.

Quintus Curtius *raſhly attributes the Knowledge of the* Greek *Fables to the* Indians, *and gives* Greek *Names to the remoteſt Rivers in* India.

IT is a common Fault among the *Greek*, and *Roman* Writers, to ſeek for their own Deities, and thoſe Fables which owed their Birth to *Greece*, and *Italy*, (and gain'd Credit only among Boys) in the midſt of *Barbarians*, who never ſo much as heard of their Names, before the *Greeks*, and *Romans* entered their Territories. Of this, we have already treated, in our *Ars Critica*, *Part* II. *Sect.* I. *Chap.* XIII. and here will proceed to ſhew, that *Curtius* was not free from this Accuſation, but blindly followed the *Greek* Writers, who gave not the true Names of the Rivers, and Towns in *India*, but their Names miſerably wreſted into the *Greek* Tongue; whereas it is evident, the Inhabitants of that Country underſtood not a Word of that Language. Beſides, he alſo imitates that wretched *Greek* Cuſtom of

* *Vide Freinſheim. ad Curtium, lib.* ix. *cap.* 1. 8.

giving moſt of the *Barbarian* Proper Names a *Greek* Interpretation, and then palming their ſpurious Interpretations upon us, inſtead of the Names themſelves: Which is the ſame, as if the *French* ſhould ſometimes write the *German* Appellations in their own Idiom, and at other times wholly change them into *French* Words, and uſe ſuch Alterations inſtead of the original Names. Who would endure a *French* Hiſtorian, ſhould he proceed to give us the Acts of *Guſtavus Adolphus* in *Germany*, after this Manner? However, we may forgive the Antients this one Offence, becauſe they make us amends for it, with innumerable Excellencies; but tho' we may overlook it, we may, at the ſame time, note it down as a great Fault, which every one, unleſs he be a ſuperficial Reader, muſt needs take notice of.

2. When *Alexander* had entered the Territories of *India*, their chief Rulers came to meet him, and aſk his Commands, not forgetting " * to tell him, that he was the third " Son of *Jove*, who had penetrated thus far; that Father " *Bacchus*, and *Hercules* had, indeed, viſited them, accord- " ing to common Fame; but that they ſaw him, then, " among them." If any ſuch Speech was ever made by the *Indians*, the firſt Writers of this Hiſtory ought to have given us the true *Barbarian* Names, the *Indians* made uſe of, which, undoubtedly, were not *Greek*, when even the *Romans*, who had the ſame Religion with the *Greeks*, whoſe Religious Rites were derived from thence, and whoſe Territories were ſo near, did not uſe the ſame Names; for who knows not, that *Neptunus*, *Mercurius*, *Minerva*, *Venus*, *Ceres*, *Diana*, and many other Appellations of their Deities, are not of *Greek* Extraction? And much more then, would the *Indians* call their Gods, whoever they were, by other Names, proper to their Country: Even at this Day, the *Perſians* tell Stories of one *Ruſtemus*, an *Indian*, who lived in the moſt antient Times, and was of a Gigantick Stature: Of him, the *Indians* have many fabulous Relations, and his Effigies is to be ſeen among the Ruins of *Perſepolis*, as † *John Chardin*, an Eye-witneſs, informs us; He imagines this *Ruſtemus* to have been their *Hercules*; but aſſures us, at the ſame time, that they gave all Heroes of thoſe Times, the Denomination of *Hercules*. Whether there are any Figures, among thoſe Pieces of Sculpture, referring to the Stories of *Hercules*, or *Bacchus*, I know not.

* *Curt. lib.* viii. *cap.* 10. 1. † *Itiner. Perſic. tom.* iii. *p.* 121. *Edit.* 4°.

3. How-

3. However, if I may be allowed to ſpeak the Truth freely, I believe theſe were only the Fictions of the *Macedonians*, who, as we have before obſerved, from *Eratoſthenes*, and *Strabo*, were reſolved, at all Adventures, to raiſe *Alexander*, at leaſt, to a Pitch of Glory equal with *Hercules*, and *Bacchus*. *Arrian* is very merry upon this Story: He ſmelt a Rat, but durſt not declare his Sentiments barefaced, becauſe of his Religion. However, he begins his Fifth Book thus; "*Alexander* then entered that Part of the "Country which lies between the two Rivers, *Cophenes*, "and *Indus*, where *Nyſa* is ſaid to be ſituate. This City "was built by *Dionyſius* (or *Bacchus*) when he conquered "the *Indians*. But who this *Bacchus* was, or at what "Time, or from whence he ſet forth againſt theſe *Indians*, "is hard to determine. Whether he was that *Theban*, "who from *Thebes*, or he who from *Tmolus*, a Mountain "of *Lydia*, undertook that famous Expedition into *India*, "and when he had paſs'd thro' ſo many warlike Nations, "then unknown to the *Greeks*, reduced none of them all, "by Force, but *India*." Theſe plainly ſhew, that the *Greeks* fooliſhly aſcribed that Expedition, either to the *Theban*, or the *Lydian Bacchus*, and that the *Macedonians* took the Liberty of forging theſe Stories, in Honour of their General. I am not ignorant, that ſome * great Men have obſerved, and proved, by learned Arguments, that *Bacchus* was one of the Eaſtern Deities; but our Diſcourſe is concerning the *Theban Bacchus*, the Son of *Semele*, which Name the *Greeks* borrowed of the *Chaldeans*, or, perhaps, the *Ægyptians*. Beſides, that the Oriental *Bacchus*, or *Dionyſius*, whoever he was, made War upon *India*, is hardly credible; however, it is not my Deſign, at this Time, to demonſtrate the contrary: the Reader, if he pleaſes, may conſult *Strabo*, for his further Satisfaction, towards the Beginning of his Fifteenth Book.

4. However, 'tis worth our while to liſten to *Arrian*, who thus proceeds; "This I may venture to ſay, that "thoſe Things which the Antients have publiſh'd, in their "Fables, concerning their Gods, ought not to be too nar"rowly ſearch'd into; for whenever the Truth of a Story "ſeem'd liable to be call'd in queſtion, ſome God was im"mediately ſummon'd to their Aid, and then all was plain, "and beyond Diſpute." If it be lawful, or juſt to haul

* *Sam. Bochart. in Phaleg. lib.* i. *cap.* 2.

in

in the publick Faith to countenance a Lye, what more can be done in behalf of Truth? for he has aſſured us, that the Name of ſome God was call'd upon, to ſcreen a Lye from a too inquiſitive Search; whereby it found the Credit, which was due to nothing but Truth. But this Privilege, you will, perhaps, ſay, was only allowed to the Fables of the Antients, and not to any Lyes. But what Title can the Antients plead for Lying, which the Moderns are debarr'd from laying a Claim to? Or by what Right do the Antients eſcape the Cenſure of the Moderns, when, at the ſame time, the Moderns fall ſo ſeverely upon one another? This was the Opinion of ſome Heathens, and thoſe no Fools neither, as is evident from *Arrian*, whom *Diodorus Siculus* preceded, who thus enters upon the Hiſtory of *Hercules*; "Truth ought neither to be too diligently ſought for, nor "too eagerly expected in theſe Fabulous Relations; for on "our Theatres, tho' we know there never were Centaurs, "of a Species between Brutal and Human, nor any ſuch "Perſon as *Geryon*, with three Bodies, yet we receive ſuch "Fables as theſe, and by our Applauſes add to the Honour "of the God." Thus the *Macedonians*, undoubtedly, imagined they added to *Alexander*'s Honour, by the Lyes they publiſhed concerning him; and the Writers, which copied after them, from theſe Fables of theirs, have introduced the *Indians* flattering *Alexander*. Such is the Speech of *Aculphis* in *Arrian*, towards the Beginning of his Fifth Book.

5. *Curtius* diſcourſing of the *Niſæans*, ſays, that * "they "derive the Origine of their City from *Bacchus*, and that "Claim of theirs, is juſt." As if this were any Token of the leaſt Truth in it: However, he proceeds; "The City "is ſeated at the Foot of a Mountain, which the Natives "call *Meros*, whence the *Greeks* have aſſumed the Liberty "of coining the Fable of *Bacchus*'s lying conceal'd in *Ju-* "*piter*'s Thigh." I would gladly aſk, whether *Meros* is an *Indian* Word, which the *Macedonians* imagined the ſame with the *Greek* Μηρός? If it was, why did they not alſo give us the *Indian* Name of *Bacchus*? Beſides, why is he call'd *Bacchus*, not ſimply ἐν τῷ μηρῷ τελεσφθαι, becauſe he was nouriſhed in a Thigh, but ἐν τῷ τοῦ Διὸς μηρῷ, becauſe it was *Jupiter*'s Thigh. But all theſe are neither better nor worſe than Lyes of the *Macedonians*; for it is moſt likely, that the *Theban Bacchus* was ſaid, by the antient *Thebans*, who were a Colony of *Phœnicians*, to have

* *Curtius, lib.* viii. *cap.* 10. 11.

ſprung

ſprung from *Jupiter*'s Thigh, after the *Phœnician* Manner of ſpeaking, which was alſo common among the *Hebrews*, and ſignified no more, than that he was one of *Jupiter*'s Deſcendants.

6. The *Macedonians* not only found that *Bacchus*, a Citizen of *Thebes*, was known among the *Indians*, if we will give Credit to them, but they found another God there, born in the ſame City, namely, *Hercules*, as we have already related. * "The Image of *Hercules* was borne before the "Troops: It was a great Excitement to their Courage, and "it was deem'd a heinous Offence, to ſhrink from it, and "leave their Standard in the Field: Thus had the Fear of "*Hercules*, once their Enemy, created in them a kind of "religious Awe." Theſe, and the like Stories, are to be found in *Curtius*, and others: None of whom, ſo much as mention any Name which *Hercules* had in *India*, the whole being no more than a mere Fiction of the *Macedonians*, who, that they might exalt *Alexander* above *Hercules*, boaſted, that the Rock † *Aornus*, which *Alexander* took, was beſieged, in vain, by *Hercules*, who was forced, by an Earthquake, to raiſe his Siege, and depart.

7. *Arrian* eaſily ſmelt this to be a Fable; for ſpeaking of the Rock *Aornus*, he has theſe Words; ‖ "The Re-"port, concerning this Rock, was, that *Hercules*, tho' he "was the Son of *Jove*, was not able to reduce it. But "whether any *Hercules*, either the *Theban*, the *Tyrian*, or "the *Ægyptian*, ever penetrated ſo far as *India*, I cannot "affirm for Truth, but am rather inclined to believe the "contrary; for whatever is difficult, or hard to be accom-"pliſhed, Men, to raiſe the Difficulty ſtill the higher, have "reported, That even *Hercules* attempted it in vain." If for *Men*, *Arrian* had ſaid the *Greeks*, he had hit the Mark; for this Fable owed its Riſe to that Nation, and, perhaps, they attributed all thoſe famous Labours, to that *Hercules*, who was their Countryman.

8. *Eratoſthenes* the § *Cyrenean*, who was the ſtricteſt Remarker of the *Macedonian* Forgeries, tells us, "that "when they ſaw Oxen in *India* mark'd with a Brand, in "Form of a Club, they immediately concluded, from that "Circumſtance, that *Hercules* had penetrated thus far." As for my part, I ſhould much rather have concluded the

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* *Curt. lib.* viii. *cap.* 14. 11.
† *Ibid. lib.* vii. *cap.* 11. 2.
‖ *Arrian, lib.* iv. *cap.* 28.
§ *Ibid. lib.* v. *cap.* 3.

whole

whole Matter a Fiction, or that the *Macedonians* call'd ſome of the chief Deities among the *Indians* by the Name of *Hercules*, of whom ſome ſuch Stories had been told by the Natives, as the *Greeks* told of their *Theban Hercules*. If the Reader deſire to be further ſatisfied in this Point, let him conſult *Arrian*, in his *Indian* Hiſtory; for I have not Leiſure to proſecute this Argument further, neither is it worth while, if I had.

9. We cannot eaſily forgive thoſe, who were the firſt Publiſhers of *Alexander*'s Hiſtory, (for *Curtius* is not any way culpable in this Caſe, it being impoſſible for him to tell us what he knew not himſelf) their ſubſtituting *Greek* Appellations, every where, inſtead of the true, and genuine Names, which the *Barbarians* themſelves uſed: Such are, * *Polytimetus*, Πολυτίμητος, the Name of a River in *Sogdiana*; † *Erymanthus*, Ἐρύμανθος, a River in *India*; ‖ *Dædala*, Δαιδάλη, a Country; § *Aornus*, Ἄορνος, a Rock; There was a Lake of this Name, in *Epirus*; ‡ *Echolima*, Ἐχβόλιμα, the Name of a Country, and many others of this ſort.

10. The *Greek* Hiſtorians, whom *Curtius* copied after, choſe their own Words, for thoſe of the *Perſian*, and thoſe He every where uſes throughout his *Latin* Hiſtory, as if they were the true *Perſian* Names of the Things repreſented; ** "The next Troop to thoſe, ſays he, were "call'd *Doryphori*, and received their Cloathing from the "King." He proceeds in the ſame manner in the following Paſſages, only here he has given us an Appellation truly *Perſian*; "They call the Royal Ornament of the Head, "*Cidaris*." A little after, he ſays, "Then followed Fif-"teen, call'd by the Name of *Armamaxæ*." And thus, diſcourſing of a Nation bordering upon *India*; "He com-"manded that a March ſhould be proclaim'd againſt the "*Agriaſpæ*, the Name of which People was ſince changed "to *Euergetæ*, being ſo call'd by *Cyrus*, becauſe of the "Succours, of all kinds, which his Army received among "them, when they laboured under the greateſt Neceſſities." Every one knows, *Cyrus* did not ſpeak *Greek*, and beſides, *Herodotus* aſſures us, that thoſe, who merited well of the King, were ſtiled *Oroſangas*, in the *Perſian* Language. It

* *Curtius*, *lib.* vii. *cap.* 10. 2. † *Ibid. lib.* viii. *cap.* 9. 10.
‖ *Ibid. cap.* 10. 16. § *Ibid. cap.* 11. 2. ‡ *Ibid. cap.* 12. 1.
** *Ibid. lib.* iii. *cap.* 3. 15.

is

is to me, a very great Wonder, that the true, and antient Name of the Capital City of the *Perſian* Empire, ſhould be every where ſuppreſs'd, and the *Greek* Appellation of *Perſepolis* ſubſtituted in its Place, not only by *Curtius*, but all other antient Authors; by which means, it is abſolutely loſt. *Chriſtopher Cellarius* was of Opinion, that the Name thereof was *Elam*, which is עילם in his Notes to that Chapter of *Curtius*, for the Country adjacent to it, was named *Elamais*, and ſo was the City too, by the Author of the *Maccabees*. But I dare not ſubſcribe to his Judgment: And if I might be allowed to declare my Mind freely, I ſhould own my Satisfaction in the Conjecture of Sir *John Chardin*, who, in his *Itinerarium Perſicum*, thinks it was called *Fars-abad*, or *Pars-abad*, which is, *the Habitation of the Perſians*; for it is unqueſtionable, that the *Perſians* called themſelves פרס *Pharas*, and אבד *Abad* ſignifies a *Habitation*, which Noun is often ſubſtituted in the Compoſition of ſuch Names of Towns, in the *Perſian* Language.

CHAP. VII.

Quintus Curtius *never mentioned the Year, and but ſeldom the Seaſon of the Year, when any great Action was performed.*

TWO Things may juſtly be ſtiled the Eyes of Hiſtory, both of which being taken away, an Hiſtorian gropes in Miſts, and Darkneſs, and neither of them can be wanting, but to his exceeding great Diſcredit. The one of theſe, is *Geography*, whereby the Situation of Places, mentioned in an Hiſtory, is laid down; the other, *Chronology*, whereby the Years are reckoned from ſome noted Epocha, and the Seaſon when every remarkable Action was performed, carefully recorded. Of how great Uſe Geography is, has been already ſhewn, when we demonſtrated the groſs Errors whereinto *Curtius* has fallen, for want of a competent Skill in that Science; and that Chronology has been as little regarded by him, as the other was underſtood, ſhall be fully proved in this Chapter. From all

all which, this Conſequence muſt follow, that *Curtius*'s Hiſtory will be a quite different Thing from thoſe, which ought to be propoſed as Patterns, or Standards. I am not ignorant, that ſeveral of the Antients may be produced, who have neither noted the Years, nor made any Diſtinction of the Seaſons of the Year, and are held in high Eſteem, notwithſtanding. But let who will eſteem them, ſuch Omiſſions are inexcuſeable, and Hiſtory admits of none greater: For who can give a tolerable Judgment, when any Action was performed, eſpecially in warm Climates, unleſs the Seaſon of the Year be put down? Who can ſufficiently underſtand the Conſtancy and Courage of the Soldiers, or their exceſſive Conflicts with ſcorching Heats, and chilling Colds? Who can know the Foreſight of the General, in laying in good Quantities of Forrage, or his Diſcretion in the Diſtribution thereof? Who can have any Notion of a General's Expedition in a March, which is one of his chief Properties, and for which *Alexander* was ſo eminently known, if there be no Diſtinction of the Seaſons, when every thing was accompliſhed?

2. However, *Curtius*, eſpecially in thoſe Parts of his Work which have come down to our Age, hath evidently neglected both; nor from his Hiſtory, can the Years, and the various Seaſons of each Year be gathered, any otherwiſe than by Gueſs-work, or a ſtrict Obſervation of what he relates, and catching up whatever accidentally ſlips from his Pen, in his florid Deſcriptions, or, laſtly, from the Series of his Hiſtory. I cannot be a Judge, whether he might not have given us ſome Chronology of *Alexander*'s Acts, in the former Books, which are loſt; but when I conſider thoſe which remain, I can ſcarce believe he was a whit more accurate in the others. I know *Alexander*'s Actions have been digeſted into Chronological Order, and much Light may be given to *Curtius* from thence; but he can receive no Praiſe from that, it being extracted, chiefly, from other Hiſtorians. However, we will, here, for once, try to digeſt the Seaſons from him alone, whereby it may appear, both how negligent he has ſhew'd himſelf, in this Particular, and of how great Advantage it had been to his Work, had the preciſe Time of every ſeveral Action been ſet down.

3. The Battle of *Iſſus* (for here we muſt begin, becauſe there is not the leaſt tittle of a Seaſon ſo much as hinted at before) happened at the Approach of Winter; for a little before the Fight, when the *Greek* mercenary Forces under *Darius*,

Darius, were perſuading him to divide his Troops, he anſwers them, among other Things, that * " to defer the " Battle would be inconvenient, becauſe Winter was coming " on, and the Country not being very fruitful, and his " Army diſperſed far and wide, it would be reduced to " great Streights for want of Proviſion." And this is alſo evident from what follows; for a little after the Battle, the *Gangabæ*, (for ſo the *Perſians* call'd thoſe who carried Burdens upon their Shoulders) in their Journey from *Damaſcus*, as they carried the Royal Treaſure from thence, are ſaid " † not to have been able to endure the extream Cold, (for " a ſudden Snow had covered the Ground, and it was hard " Froſt) for which Reaſon they wrapp'd themſelves up cloſe " in the rich Garments, which were all of Gold and Purple." We could eaſily ſhew the Time here, exactly pointed out by *Arrian*; but it was neceſſary we ſhould draw it ourſelves from *Curtius*, and not give our Readers the Trouble. This happened in the Year of the World, according to the *Julian* Period, 4381.

4. After this, *Curtius* tells us, in his Fourth Book, that *Syria* was ſubdued; then all *Phœnicia*, except *Tyre*, which was beſieged by *Alexander*. The Beginning of this Siege could hardly be before the Spring; we will therefore ſuppoſe, it was in the Month of *March*; then || " *Tyre*, as " *Curtius* tells us, was taken in the ſeventh Month after the " Siege was laid to it:" therefore it muſt be in *September*. Then *Alexander*'s Soldiers muſt have ſome few Days allowed to reſt, and refreſh themſelves, after the Fatigues of a Siege ſo long, and difficult, eſpecially conſidering they were then in a much hotter Climate than *Macedonia*.

5. *Alexander* then march'd forwards, to beſiege § *Gaza*, which *Bætis*, the Governor thereof, defended bravely; however, at laſt, when the Engines came to do Execution upon the Walls, the Town was carried by Storm. We will ſuppoſe, the Army refreſhed themſelves, as is before ſaid, the Space of one Month, and therefore this Siege muſt have commenced in the Beginning of *November*, and laſted a Month; ſo that *Alexander* could not reach *Ægypt* before the End of *December*, or *January* in the following Year of the *Julian* Period 4382. ‡ " On the ſeventh Day, after " he had march'd with his Forces from *Gaza*, he arrived

* *Curtius, lib.* iii. *cap.* 8. 8. † *Ibid. cap.* 13. 7. || *Ibid. lib.* iv. *cap.* 4. 19. § *Ibid. lib.* iv. *cap.* 6. ‡ *Ibid. cap.* 6. 3.

" in

" in the Country of *Ægypt*, which they now call'd *Alex-*
" *ander*'s Camp." We have no Occaſion to allow a long Time for his invading *Ægypt*, and ſettling Matters there; the *Ægyptians* readily revolted from the *Perſians*, nor durſt the *Perſians* there, wait *Alexander*'s Approach; and he tarried not to make any conſiderable Alterations in their Form of Government. He then reſolved upon an Expedition to the Oracle of *Hammon*, which he might the eaſier perform, becauſe the Time of that Journey was about the End of Winter, or the Entrance of the Spring: for at that Seaſon, the Heats of the *Lybian* Waſtes are tolerable; but towards the End of the Spring, and in Summer, no *Greeks* ever undertook that Journey, without having occaſion to repent themſelves. This had been a Circumſtance worthy an Hiſtorian's Notice; but then, had *Curtius* obſerved it, his florid Deſcription of the unuſual Heats there, had been utterly loſt: * " All was ſcorch'd by the Heat of the Sun,
" when on a ſudden, (whether by Chance, or the Bounty
" of the Gods, is uncertain) the Sky was overcaſt, which,
" tho' no Rain fell immediately, yet cool'd, and refreſh'd
" them very much, who were ready to faint with Extremity
" of Heat. At laſt, there fell a great Shower, ſo that
" every one catch'd what he could, in Veſſels, and ſome,
" who were not able to hold any, lay down on their Backs,
" and received the falling Drops into their Mouths." He then tells us, that, at his Return, he built † *Alexandria*, which is not unlikely, and that, according to this Account, muſt be in this Year, which was the Sixth of his Reign; tho' *James Uſher* is of a different Opinion, as appears by conſulting his *Annals*, at the Year of the *Julian* Period 4382, and before Chriſt 332. To beſtow more Time upon this Matter, would be needleſs.

6. *Curtius* forgets to tell us, how long *Alexander* tarried in *Ægypt*, or what Time he ſpent in his March to the *Euphrates*, as alſo where he paſs'd that River. He only ſays, that he encamp'd near the *Euphrates*, on the Eleventh Day, but never acquaints us, whence he begun that Reckoning. A little before the Battle of *Arbela*, he aſſures us, there happened an || Eclipſe of the Moon, in thoſe Parts; and § *Joſeph Scaliger*, as well from Aſtronomical Calculations, as the Accounts of other Writers, fixes that to the Twentieth

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* *Curtius, lib.* iv. *cap.* 7. 13. † *Ibid. lib.* iv. *cap.* 8.
|| *Ibid. cap.* 10. 2. § *De Emend. Temp. lib.* v. *p.* 420. *Ed. Rouen.*

Day-

Day of *September*, in the Year 4383; and of this Opinion are *Dionyſius Petavius*, and *James Uſher*. *Alexander*, therefore, muſt have ſpent the Summer in *Ægypt*, and in his March to the City *Thapſacus*, (where he paſs'd the *Euphrates*) and between that River, and the *Tigris*, beyond which, towards the Eaſt, this Battle was fought. However, after all, ſome Authors tell us, that the Battle was fought full Ten Days after the Eclipſe happened.

7. Soon after this Victory, * *Arbela* was ſurrender'd to *Alexander*; (this might be in the Beginning of *October*) and he tarried there ſome Days, to refreſh his Army: " † However, the Stench of the putrified Bodies, which " lay all abroad, throughout the Fields, occaſioned Diſeaſes " among his Soldiers; for which Reaſon, he was forced to " march from thence, ſooner than he deſigned. And when the Winter approach'd, he enter'd *Babylon*, becauſe it was much more commodious for his Army to paſs into a warm Climate, at that Seaſon, than in the Summer: " There, " ſays *Curtius*, the Conqueror of *Aſia* tarried Thirty-four " Days, on purpoſe to fatten his Army." * *Alexander*, in all Probability, tarried there the remaining Part of the Year, neither did he proceed further, unleſs towards the End of *November*, or *December*, or, perhaps, the Beginning of the ſucceeding Year.

8. Towards the Cloſe of that Year, or the Beginning of the next, which was the Year 4384, according to the *Julian* Period, *Alexander* march'd to *Satrapene*, according to *Curtius*, or rather, *Sittacene*, a Country between the *Coſſæans*, and *Babylonians*, at the Head of the River *Tigris*, " || abounding in all manner of Proviſions, where he re- " ſolved to continue ſome Time; but leſt the Soldiers " ſhould let drop their Courage, for want of Exerciſe, he " propoſed Rewards, and appointed Judges of Military " Performances." This Country ſerved him for Winter-Quarters, where he refreſh'd his Army, and beſides other things, without doubt, laid up Plenty of Forrage, tho' *Curtius* takes not one Word of notice of any ſuch Matter; as if *Alexander*'s Soldiers had forgot that it was Winter, or could march where-ever they were order'd, without Proviſions. Soon after this, he paſs'd on to *Suſa*, which was immediately ſurrender'd to him. The Spring was then, un-

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* *Curtius, lib.* v. *cap.* 1. 10. † *Ibid. lib.* v. *cap.* 11.
|| *Ibid. lib.* v. *cap.* 13. 2.

doubtedly, in ſome Forwardneſs, and in ſo warm a Climate, tho' it may be ſomewhat mountainous, the Snows muſt be pretty well gone, tho' they lie longeſt in a hilly Country. *Alexander* then entered the Territories of the * *Uxians*, and forced *Médates*, the Prince of thoſe Parts, to deliver it up, after ſome ſharp Skirmiſhes. Then, on the Fifth Day, he came to the Streights of † *Suſa*, which he gained, from *Ariobarzanes*, after a vigorous Reſiſtance, and from thence march'd ſtraight to || *Perſepolis*, which was ſoon ſurrendered into his Hands.

9. *Perſepolis* being taken, and ſacked, § " *Alexander*, " with a Thouſand Horſe, and a choice Party of light-arm'd " Foot, penetrated into the inner Parts of *Perſia*, about the " Time of the riſing of the *Pleiades*; and notwithſtanding " they were vex'd with grievous Rains, and prodigious " Tempeſts, he was reſolved to proſecute his intended Ex- " pedition. He then came to a Place block'd up with per- " petual Snows, which the Extremity of the Cold had con- " geal'd to Ice." By this Cold, the Soldiers were not a little diſtreſs'd, as *Curtius* tells us at large, who never ſlips any Opportunity of exerting his Talent on ſuch Deſcriptions. From the whole Story, we may gather, that he ought to have ſaid, a little before the ſetting of the *Pleiades*. Thus *Pliny*; " ‡ About Four and forty Days after the Autumnal " Equinox, the ſetting of the *Pleiades*, begins the Winter " Seaſon, the Time uſually commencing about the Third " of the Ides of *November*." *Curtius*'s Phraſe, *Sub ipſum Sidus*, ſignifies rather, a little before the Riſe of the *Pleiades*, than a little after, as appears from ſeveral Places in the ſame Author; *Sub Lucis Ortum*, a little before Daylight. In which Senſe he alſo has, *Sub Ortum Diei*, *Sub Noctem*, and many others, as may be ſeen by conſulting *Freinſhemius*'s Index. Perhaps he miſtook the Time of the Riſe of theſe Stars, for their Setting; for had the Time of their Riſe been known to him, he could never have been guilty of ſuch an Error: for *Pliny* ſays elſewhere; " The Riſe " of the *Pleiades* are under this, in ſo many Degrees of " *Taurus*, ſix Days before the Ides of *May*."

10. In that Expedition, *Alexander* reduced the remaining Part of *Perſia*; ** " wherefore, on the Thirtieth Day after " he

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* *Curt. ib. cap.* 3. † *Ibid. cap.* 3. 17. || *Ibid. cap.* 5.
§ *Ibid. cap.* 6. 12. ‡ *Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib.* ii. *cap.* 47.
** *Curt. lib.* v. *cap.* 6. 19. *Curtius*, very abſurdly, mentions the reducing the *Mardi* here; whereas they could not be ſubdued before *Hyrcania*;

" he ſet forth from *Perſepolis*, he returned thither again;" that is, in the Month of *December*; there he winter'd with his Army, and burnt the Palace.

11. In the 4385th Year of the *Julian* Period, towards the Beginning of the Spring, *Alexander* again begun to purſue *Darius*, (which is worthy Obſervation) after he had given him above a whole Year, to repair the Loſſes he had ſuſtained by the War. In the mean while, he received ſundry Recruits, whereby he made up the Number of his Troops, which had been diminiſhed by ſeveral Accidents, as Battles, long Marches, Diſeaſes, and garriſoning of Forts. He then ſeized the Royal Treaſure, by the help of which, he was enabled to beſtow ſuch vaſt Rewards on his Followers, as even to allure almoſt all *Greece* into the Eaſtern Parts, in hopes of the like: He alſo reduced the moſt fertile Provinces of the *Perſian* Empire, from whence he might eaſily have a ſufficient Quantity of Proviſions convey'd to him, when he was in the more remote ones. Wherefore, he determined, firſt to * march into *Media*, whither † *Darius* had fled; but hearing that *Darius* had paſſed into *Hyrcania*, he alſo haſted hither, and purſued him till the Time of his Death. This muſt have happened towards the Beginning of Summer; for *Alexander* purſued *Darius* with the utmoſt Expedition, attended by a ſmall Party, and left the Bulk of his Army to follow him.

12. ‖ " No ſooner was he diſengaged from Buſineſs, " (for he was always more invincible in War than Peace) " but he abandoned himſelf to all manner of Pleaſures; " and tho' the *Perſian* Arms could not ſubdue him, their " Vices did. He uſed immoderate Banquettings, and took " ſtrange Delight in ſitting up, and carouſing all Night " long. He kept whole Troops of Concubines, thinking " outlandiſh Faſhions more delicate than his own." Thus he begun to new model his Life, immediately after *Darius*'s Death; tho' in *Perſia*, even while *Darius* was alive, he had, more than once, got as merry as a *Greek*, (*pergræcatus fuerat*) and in one of his drunken Fits, ſet the Royal Palace of *Perſepolis* on Fire. In the Place where he ceaſed his Purſuit of *Darius*, and where he begun his intemperate

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Hyrcania, beyond which Country theirs lay, on the Southern Shore of the *Caſpian Sea*: wherefore he is driven to the Neceſſity of repeating it, *lib.* vi. *cap.* 5. 11. as if there had been two Nations of the *Mardi*, when all other Authors reckon but one.

* *Curt. cap.* 7. 12. † *Ibid. cap.* 13. 2. ‖ *Ibid. lib.* vi. *cap.* 11. 1.

Courſe of Life, he muſtered his Captives, and ſeparated the Nobility from the common Sort.

13. Some Days being thus ſpent, * " he came to *Parthiene*, and in the City *Hecatompylus*, then in a flouriſhing State, founded by the *Grecians*, he encamp'd, and " had a Supply of Proviſions brought from the Country " round about them." A Sedition then aroſe among the lazy Soldiers of his Army, which having quell'd, he decamp'd from thence, in all likelihood, about the Middle of Summer; " And the † third Day after, paſs'd thro' *Parthiene*, and enter'd the Borders of *Hyrcania*." He then run a Trench round his Camp, ‖ and had allowed his Soldiers four Days to refreſh themſelves, when he received the Letters of *Nabarzanes*. He afterwards penetrated further into *Hyrcania*, where he tarried till Autumn, as appears from *Curtius*'s Words; § " Beſides other kinds of Fruit, " wherewith that Country abounded, Apples, of a vaſt Bigneſs, grew there, and the Soil produced them in huge " Quantities."

14. Throughout the whole Country, he met no Enemy to give him any Trouble; however, he muſt have ſome Time to paſs thro' it: and the *Mardi*, their Neighbours, were ſo terrified at his Approach, that they ſubmitted, and were received into Friendſhip. On the ‡ fifth Day, therefore, *Alexander* returned to his Camp. Here, *Thaleſtris* (if we give Credit to *Curtius*, and the Romantick Writers of theſe Stories) ** viſited him, " and having, by her winning Complaiſance, engaged him to tarry with her a few " Days, he ſpent thirteen with her; which done, ſhe departed to her Dominions, and he march'd towards *Parthiene*." Tho' this is every tittle falſe, and no more than a Flouriſh of the lying *Greeklings*, yet we may, perhaps, gather from hence, that *Alexander* tarried ſome Time in *Hyrcania*, after the *Mardi* had yielded him Subjection.

15. From thence, *Alexander* march'd into *Bactria*, †† Part of which he ſubdued, with much Trouble, about the End of Autumn. ‖‖ " In that Country, ſays *Curtius*, " the Army then lay, when the King, who was not only " undaunted at all foreign Attacks, but full Proof againſt " them, had well nigh fallen by a domeſtick Conſpiracy." This was a Conſpiracy of his own Soldiers, headed by

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* *Curt. lib.* vi. *cap.* 11. 11. *&* 15. † *Ibid. cap.* 4. 2. ‖ *Ib. cap.* 8.
§ *Ibid. lib.* vi. *cap.* 4. 21. ‡ *Ibid. cap.* 5. 21. ** *Ibid. cap.* 32.
†† *Ibid. cap.* 6. ‖‖ *Ibid. lib.* vii. *cap.* 3. 1, *&c.*

Philotas,

Philotas, the Son of *Parmenio*. To examine them then, and bring them to condign Puniſhment, muſt take up ſome Time: The Winter muſt be, therefore, nigh hand, when he reſolved upon his Expedition into the Country of the *Agriaſpæ*, where he arrived the fifth Day after, "and where "he continued Sixty Days, new modelling the Affairs of "the *Euergetæ*." He muſt, therefore, of Conſequence, ſpend the greateſt Part of the Winter among them.

16. The Year following, being 4386, after a ſhort Expedition, towards the End of Winter, which, however, is not ſevere in theſe Parts, the * *Aracoſii* were brought to Terms. This might, probably, be in *February*, or *March*, when the *Macedonians* felt an unuſual Cold in that mountainous Tract; for the Colds are often felt there, towards the Beginning of the Spring. However, when the Spring came on, it was no Wonder that *Alexander* made a new Expedition into the Country of † *Parapamiſus*, where, nevertheleſs, if we give Credit to *Curtius*, tho' the Spring was ſomewhat advanced, (for that, both the Series of the Hiſtory, and the Hiſtorian's own Words declare) the Army were cruelly afflicted with Cold. However, be it as ſharp as it would, it could not be laſting, as I have already ſaid, and *Alexander* was not yet ſo intoxicated with the Thirſt of Glory, as to expoſe himſelf, and his Troops, in the Middle of Winter, without any Neceſſity, to the Extremities of Hunger and Cold, when *Darius* was now dead, and the beſt, and by far the largeſt Part of the *Perſian* Empire in his Hands. I know *Beſſus* was ſtill alive; but would *Alexander*, who was not afraid to give *Darius* a whole Year to repair his Loſſes, be ſo terrified at the Preparations of a Prince of *Bactria*, as not to allow his Army ſo much as one Month or two, to refreſh themſelves, in the Winter Seaſon? For, that he made ſo much Haſte, and expoſed his Forces to ſuch a degree, is full as credible to me, as that the "Country of "the *Parapamiſans* lies under the utmoſt Northern Frozen "Zone;" that is, not far from the North Pole. The Truth of the Matter is, *Curtius*, and the *Greeks* which he copied after, did not ſo much regard the Seaſon of the Year, in their Deſcription, as the Climate: They were buſy dreaming that *Alexander* was upon Mount *Caucaſus*, and in the Depth of Winter; and as they had heard Stories of rigorous Colds, and ſharp Winters there, they magnified

* *Curtius, lib.* vii. *cap.* 4. † *Ibid. cap.* 3. 6.

every thing in their Rhetorical Way, and therefore tranſplanted the rigorous Colds along with Mount *Caucaſus*, almoſt as far as *India*, and unluckily placed them in thoſe Parts, where the *Macedonians* ought rather to have been afraid of the other Extream.

17. Thence *Alexander* march'd, with his * Forces, to Mount *Parapamiſus*, which, as we have already ſaid, the *Macedonians* call'd *Caucaſus*, and in the ſpace of Seventeen Days paſs'd over it. *Beſſus* then fled beyond the River *Oxus*, and the reſt of *Bactria* ſubmitted to *Alexander*, who alſo paſs'd the *Oxus*, and over-run divers Nations, as far as † *Tanais*, (or *Jaxyrtus*) and received Homage from them; but not without much Toil and Bloodſhed. Then he received an Embaſſy from *Scythia*, whoſe Territories he invaded, by croſſing the *Tanais*, and worſted them in Battle. Thence he returned into *Bactria*, which having revolted, he again reduced, as alſo *Sogdia*, whoſe unacceſſible Rock he gain'd by Stratagem.

18. Thus far *Curtius* carries the Hiſtory of *Alexander* in his Seventh Book, without any certain Account of the different Seaſons: After this, as may be gather'd from the Deſcription of the Cold, in the Sixteenth Section of the ſame Chapter, they ſpent the Summer, and Autumn of the ſaid Year there, and perhaps Part of the Winter too. ‖ *Arrian* tells us for certain, that *Alexander* winter'd at *Nautaca* in *Sogdia*, and when the Spring approach'd, he march'd to the *Sogdian* Rock. Wherefore the Entrance of the Year 4387, according to the *Julian* Period, may be reaſonably placed before the Surrender of this Rock.

19. The *Sogdians*, and all the other neighbouring Nations being entirely reduced, *Alexander* return'd to ‡ *Maracanda*, the Metropolis of *Bactria*, his Head-Quarters: There *Clitus* was ſlain, and there he tarried § Ten Days, according to *Curtius*, who then adds, "that he diſpatch'd "*Hephæſtion* from thence, with Part of his Forces, into "*Bactria*, to provide Forrage againſt Winter;" as if the City *Maracanda* had not been in *Bactria*. But we will paſs by that, to come to an Obſervation about his laying in Stores againſt Winter, which Circumſtance ought either to have been omitted, or expreſs'd in ſuch a manner, as to have given a clear, and true Idea of what Seaſon he ſpoke: For

* *Curt. lib.* vii. *cap.* 19. 22. † *Ibid. cap.* 6. ‖ *Arrian, lib.* iv. *cap.* 18. ‡ *Curt. lib.* viii. *cap.* 1. 7. 10. § *Ibid. cap.* 2. 12.

unleſs

unleſs we were aſſured, both by the Acts themſelves, and alſo by *Arrian*, that a whole Year was ſpent between his Expedition againſt the *Parapamiſans*, and the Surrender of the *Sogdian* Rock, any Mortal would eaſily imagine, he were diſcourſing of the Winter's Work, the Year before; for what *Alexander* accompliſhed in the ſpace of theſe two Years, could not, with any manner of Reaſon or Probability, be imagined to be brought about in one.

20. The *Sogdian* Rock being given up, the * *Maſſagetæ*, *Dahæ*, and the reſt of the *Sogdians* were ſoon over-run; the fugitive *Bactrians*, with *Syſimitres* at their Head, were reduced to great Streights, and other Actions performed, as appears by *Curtius*: † "Theſe being accompliſhed, ſays he, "in the third Month, he drew his Army out of their Win-"ter-Quarters, and march'd towards the Country which is "call'd *Gabaza*." This muſt be in the Beginning of the Year 4387. A grievous Storm attack'd them in their March, which *Curtius*, according to his Cuſtom, deſcribes, in Language as loud and bluſtering as the Storm itſelf. Thence, *Alexander* led his Troops towards the ‖ *Sacæ*, and reduced their Country; and after this, entering the Province over which *Cohortanus* preſided, he accepted of his Obedience, and took his Daughter *Roxane* to Wife. From that Time, he begun to bend his Mind towards leading his Army into *India*; and ‡ leſt he ſhould leave any Enemy behind him, which might create him Uneaſineſs, he order'd Thirty thouſand young Men to be gathered out of all the Provinces he had ſubdued, and brought to him, each compleatly armed, whom he kept as Hoſtages, at the ſame time that he uſed them as Soldiers. After this, he quell'd ſome Inſurrections, and reduced ſome neighbouring Countries. *Curtius* ſeems to intimate, as if *Alexander* received that vaſt Supply before he entered *India*; for he tells us, that he march'd thither, with an Army of § One hundred and twenty thouſand Men. If this be true, he ought to have proclaimed this general Levy a long time before; for if a certain Number of Soldiers was to be raiſed out of every Province of his then wide-extended Empire, a whole Twelvemonth's Time would hardly be ſufficient to bring them together. In the mean time, *Hermolaus* conſpired againſt *Alexander*, and ſuffered Death among the other Conſpirators, his Confederates.

* *Curtius, lib.* viii. *cap.* 1. 3. † *Ibid. lib.* viii. *cap.* 4. 1.
‖ *Ibid. ſect.* 20. ‡ *Ibid. cap.* 5. 1. § *Ibid. cap.* 4.

21. By this Time, the Summer was, undoubtedly, come, or perhaps in ſome Forwardneſs, when *Alexander* march'd into *India:* * *Curtius* gives us that Expedition at large, to the Defeat of *Porus*, but makes no manner of Diſtinction of Summer or Winter Seaſons, nor takes any Account of the Time which paſſed. However, as the Country between the River *Cophenes* and the *Aceſines* was not large, nor the Inhabitants warlike, we may ſuppoſe, they would not detain *Alexander* long, eſpecially conſidering the Vaſtneſs of his Army, which he might divide, there, without Hazard. They may therefore be ſuppoſed to have been reduced in the Summer and Autumn of that Year. Had *Curtius* delivered himſelf in Terms thus plain, he would have imagined he had leſſened *Alexander*'s Glory; but however that be, what he has aſſerted concerning the Strength and Puiſſance of ſome of thoſe *Indian* Nations, had appeared falſe and ridiculous.

22. He has made no mention of any Winter Quarters this Year, which perhaps he might omit on purpoſe, becauſe of the Warmneſs of the Climate. However, had he well underſtood the Situation of *India*, if in no other Part, eſpecially in the more Southern Regions, near the Sea-coaſt, he would hardly have told us, that *Alexander* waited for the Approach of the Spring, as we ſhall ſee afterwards. From theſe Tranſactions we may reaſonably conclude, that he paſs'd this Year, and the ſucceeding one, in reducing the *Indians*, and leading his Army thro' their Country.

23. The ſeveral Occurrences after the Defeat of *Porus*, as I have already hinted, are very ſlenderly told by *Curtius*; ſo that we ſhall not lay ſuch an Epitome of them before our Reader: Let him peruſe them in the Ninth Book of that Author; Part of them at leaſt, if not the Whole, may be brought into the Year 4388. † "When *Alexander* determined "to ſail to the Ocean, his Fleet (which was ſtationed in a "River, Four hundred Stadia from the Mouths of the River "*Indus*) arrived, on the Second Day, not far from a Lake of "ſalt Water; wherefore *Leonnatus* was diſpatch'd before, to "dig Wells in ſeveral Places, where the Army was to march, "to ſupply them with freſh Water, becauſe it was very ſcarce "in thoſe Parts; and he, and his Forces, remain'd there, "waiting for the Approach of the Spring." It had been much better, to have performed that Journey in the Winter Seaſon, eſpecially conſidering their Winters are nothing, if compared

* *Curt. cap.* 9. to the End of the Eighth Book. † *Ibid. lib.* ix. *cap.* 9. 27. *cap.* 10. 1. *&c.*

to

to thoſe in *European* Countries, and their Spring muſt needs be as hot as the Height of Summer, in *Greece*. But *Curtius* was all the while under a wonderful Miſtake, in imagining thoſe Coaſts of *India*, where the *Macedonians* then were, to be the Northern Parts of the Continent: * "The cold "North Winds, ſays he, mightily infeſt thoſe Shores; but "they are reſtrained by high Ridges of Mountains, ſo "that they do not penetrate far into the inland Parts, inſo-"much that they are very fruitful." He ſhould have ſaid the contrary; for the *Indian* Coaſts are prodigiouſly tormented with hot South Winds, but thoſe are check'd by a Ridge of Mountains, ſo that they do not penetrate ſo far Northward as the Fountains of the *Indus*, nigh which Parts, namely, in *Caſſemira*, and the neighbouring Kingdoms, are very fruitful Tracts, well refreſh'd by Northern Breezes: Here, Snows are often ſeen; but on the Southern Mountains no Snows fall, by reaſon of the Heat of the Climate. The following Paſſage in *Curtius*, is alſo falſe; † "That Quarter "of the World, ſays he, varies ſo much from the reſt, in "the Seaſons of the Year, that when other Parts are ſcorch'd "with exceſſive Heats, it lies overwhelm'd with deep Snows, "and when other Countries are pinch'd with piercing Cold, "ſhe labours under the Torment of unſufferable Heat." Had that *India*, which was known in *Curtius*'s Time, been to the Southward, beyond the Tropick of *Capricorn*, where our modern Navigators have not yet reach'd, ſuch Stuff might have paſs'd without Examination. Every body knows, that all the Parts where *Alexander* ever came, were on this Side the Tropick of *Cancer*; and that in other Parts, between that Tropick and the *Æquator*, no Snows ever fall.

24. His Narration from hence, to the Death of *Alexander*, is ſtill more abridged, as is evident both from *Arrian*'s Hiſtory, and *Freinſhemius*'s Supplement. However, the whole appears to be comprehended between the Year of the *Julian* Period 4389, and the Month of *April* in the Year following; for on the Eighteenth Day of that Month, being *Wedneſday*, according to ‖ *Joſeph Scaliger*'s Calculation, he died at *Babylon*; tho' *James Uſher* will have his Death to have happened on the Twenty-ſecond of *May*; and *Dionyſius Petavius* fixes it to the Nineteenth of *June*.

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* *Curt. lib.* viii. *cap.* 9. 12. † *Ibid. lib.* viii. *cap.* 9. 12.
‖ *De Emendatione Temporum, lib.* v. *p.* 416.

25. If

25. If any endeavour to excuſe *Curtius*, by alledging, that the *Greek* Writers, which he copied from, were not, perhaps, more accurate in their Accounts of the particular Times, than he, nor could always know, at what Seaſon of the Year, ſeveral Occurrences happened; I anſwer ſuch, that I do not doubt but ſome *Greek* Hiſtorians may have been as careleſs in that reſpect as *Curtius*; but there were, then, Books, out of which, whatever Deficiencies were in them, might have been ſupplied; the αἱ Βασίλειαι ἐφημερίδες, or Royal Diary, wherein was recorded what *Alexander* did every Day, and where he was. From thoſe Records, * *Plutarch*, and *Arrian*, who came after *Curtius*, (for we imagine him to have flouriſhed about the Time of *Veſpaſian*) have illuſtrated his Life with many uſeful Remarks. † The Writings of *Bæton*, and *Diognetus*, were alſo then extant, who deſcribed the ſeveral Stations of the Army, throughout the whole Expedition, and whom ‖ *Pliny*, who was Cotemporary with *Curtius*, calls the Surveyors of his March, and often quotes in his Writings. Thoſe, *Curtius* ought to have conſulted, in order to have fix'd an exact Chronology of *Alexander*'s Exploits; and if any thing had ſeem'd difficult in the Geographical Part, he might alſo have had recourſe to them, for Satisfaction.

26. I am not ignorant, after all, that Writers do not agree, in every Particular of the Chronology of thoſe Actions; and to apply *Curtius*'s own Words, concerning the Diſagreement of Authors in other Affairs, to this purpoſe; "Great "was either the Negligence, or (which is much the ſame "Fault) the Credulity of thoſe, who collected together the "ſcattered Memoirs of antient Times." But then, thoſe Differences in Authors ought to have been brought to Light, and the moſt probable to have been choſen; or if there had appeared little or no Difference between the Probability of two Accounts, the Author ſhould have exhibited both, and left the Deciſion to the Reader's Judgment. But *Curtius* was more ſolicitous about the Elegancy of his Style, than the Accuracy of his Narration; and ſo were many more of the Antients, who, for that Reaſon, are not undeſervedly cenſured by the Moderns.

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* See *Plutarch*, and *Arrian*, towards the Cloſe of *Alexander*'s Life.
† See *Ger. Joan. Voſſius de Hiſtor. Græcis, lib.* iv. *cap.* 9. and the Index of the Authors praiſed by *Pliny*.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Quintus Curtius *uſes a Declaiming Style, almoſt throughout his whole Work.*

THE * Maſters of Science have, long ago, taught us, that the Style of an Hiſtorian ought to be a kind of a *Medium*, between that of an Orator, and common Diſcourſe; ſo that there is no need to preſs that Matter further. We ſhall now ſhew, that *Curtius* has been ſo far from obſerving this Medium, that he is perpetually upon the high Extream, and ever eager of exerting his declaiming Vein; and that he did not chuſe this Subject, ſo much to ſhew what was true or falſe in *Alexander*'s Hiſtory, or what was blameable or praiſe-worthy in the Hero, as that he might have a fair Opportunity of diſplaying the Elegancy of his Style, and his extraordinary Talent in Rhetorick. A multitude of Inſtances, which we have already brought, would be of uſe to illuſtrate this Matter, ſuch as the numerous Deſcriptions which every where occur, and thoſe always ſet forth in a Style entirely Rhetorical: Thus, he has deſcribed many Rivers, and the various Hardſhips the Army met with, by Heat and Cold, more than once over, in a rough manner. This, *Lucian* ſays, is a Rhetorician's peculiar Province, and that he ought not to attempt Hiſtory, whoſe only End is to teach, and not to perſuade by Ornament of Words. " As an Hiſtorian, ſays *Lucian*, you " ought to be exceedingly careful, (in the Deſcription of " Mountains, or Walls, or Rivers) not to make a vain, and " uſeleſs Oſtentation of Eloquence, and omitting the Series " of your Hiſtory, ſeem to be otherwiſe employed. When " therefore you have but juſt lightly touch'd upon theſe " Matters, and that merely for Perſpicuity ſake, return " again to your Subject, wiſely avoiding the Allurement of " ſuch Things, as would divert you from the Buſineſs in " Hand." Such a Caution as this, had *Curtius* carefully

* *Vide John Gerrard Voſſius, Artis Hiſtoriæ, cap.* 29.

minded,

minded, he had avoided one Rock, whereon he often ſtrikes. There are ſeveral other Things in that excellent Treatiſe, *De Conſcribenda Hiſtoria*, from whence *Curtius* might eaſily be criticiſed.

2. His Hiſtory may be divided into Two Parts; one whereof, comprehends the Hiſtorical Part, the other, the Speeches, which he has wrote in the Names of thoſe, whom he has thought fit to introduce, for that purpoſe; and he has every where declared himſelf a much better Orator, than an Hiſtorian, whoſe Buſineſs is not to write what he ſays, or thinks himſelf, even if he were preſent in the Action, but what was really ſpoke, or the true Intent and Meaning thereof. And if we can make it appear, on both theſe Heads, that *Curtius* declaimed, rather than related Facts, we ſhall fully perform what we have promiſed in the Contents of this Chapter.

3. To begin with the Narrative Part, I ſhall only produce a few Examples, and leave them as a Specimen for the Reader, whereby to find out the reſt. Firſt, he does not ſatisfy himſelf with a bare Relation of the Events, but he muſt run out into Exclamations, and thoſe not ſhort and natural ones, but long and tedious. Thus, having given an Account of *Darius*'s ſecond Defeat by *Alexander*, he adds; " * What Mortal is able to bear, or what Rhetorick to enu- " merate all theſe ſtrange Turns of Fortune; the cruel " Slaughter of Officers and Soldiers, and the Flight of thoſe " who were conquered; beſides the various Overthrows, " ſometimes of ſingle Parties, and then again of whole Ar- " mies? Fortune may be ſaid to have brought the Buſineſs " of almoſt a whole Age, within the Compaſs of that ſingle " Day."

4. Secondly, *Hyperboles* are too frequent throughout his Work, and thoſe not modeſt ones, but often ſtretch'd to the Size of Poetical Fictions. Thus, after he has counted the Forces of *Darius*; † " *Bactrians*, and *Sogdians*, and *Indi-* " *ans*, and the reſt of the Borderers on the *Red Sea*, beſides " Nations whoſe Names were unknown to him, whom his " Haſte hindered him from muſtering." This is certainly too hyperbolical; Nations whoſe Names were unknown to their Sovereign, eſpecially in a Narrative Way. It is moſt certain, *Darius* knew no Part of his Empire better, than thoſe very Borderers of the *Red Sea*, whom he mentions

* *Curtius, lib.* iv. *cap.* 16. 10. † *Ibid. lib.* iii. *cap.* 11. 9.

among

among the unknown ones; for they were not far diſtant from *Babylon*, *Suſa*, nor *Perſepolis*, the uſual Places of the Royal Reſidence: The Truth is, they were very far diſtant from *Curtius*'s declaiming *Roſtrum*, and little known to him, for which Reaſon, he was willing to have his Ignorance father'd upon the *Perſian* Monarch.

5. *Alexander* not only deigns to weep over the Corps of *Darius*'s Mother, but laments for her, as tho' ſhe had been his own. So true it is, that Declaimers can obſerve no Medium. * " The King, ſays he, was no leſs grieved, " than if the News of his own Mother's Death had been " brought him; for he was ſeen to ſigh, and ſhed many " Tears, and with the Show of a Sorrow which *Darius* " himſelf might have appeared in, he came into the Room " where the Corps lay, and her Mother ſat by, lamenting: " Here, his Grief was doubled, by ſeeing *Darius*'s Mother " upon the Ground.——— Whoever had ſeen him, would " have thought him fitter to have received, than given " Comfort, which he refuſed, and Suſtenance too, *&c.*" One may perceive, with half an Eye, that this is too much. Had *Alexander* been ſo tender-hearted, he would certainly have ſent *Darius*'s Wife back to her Husband, his Daughters to their Father, and his Mother to her Son, which we are aſſured he never did: The Women would not have aſſiſted *Darius* to have renew'd the War. *Alexander* was, therefore, either too cruel in this Caſe, or much too tender, in ſhedding Tears.

6. As to other Examples of his Hyperboles, I ſhall content myſelf with the bare Mention of them, leſt I ſhould ſeem too tedious, by tranſcribing ſo much out of an Author, which is in every body's Hands. See the Deſcription of Thirſt, *Book* IV. *Chap.* XVI. *Sect.* 12. *&c.* The Deſcription of the Siege of *Tyre*, *Book* IV. *Chap.* II. *&c.* and compare it with what *Arrian* has wrote upon that Siege, towards the Concluſion of his Second Book. Compare his Account of the Journey over the Mountainous Tract of *Perſia*, *Lib.* V. *Chap.* IV. with *Arrian*, *Book* III. *Chap.* XVIII. his Deſcription of *Alexander*'s Behaviour at the City of the *Oxydracæ*, *Book* IX. *Chap.* V. with *Arrian*, *Book* VI. *Chap.* IX, X. beſides a vaſt Number of other Places may be found throughout his Hiſtory, where the Reader may reap a plentiful Harveſt of *Hyperboles*.

* *Curt. lib.* iv. *cap.* 10. 20.

7. Thirdly,

7. Thirdly, He not only furniſhes us with a vaſt Stock of Poetical *Hyperboles*, but ſometimes ſwells his Style to ſuch an immoderate Pitch, that he loſes himſelf, and ſeems to forget what he aims at. Such is what he ſays on *Alexander*'s Return from the Temple of *Hammon*; * "The "Royal Palace of *Memnon* and *Tithonus* drew thoſe who "were curious in Antiquity, almoſt beyond the Sun's Li- "mits." That Palace of *Memnon* was no further off than *Thebes*, in *Higher Ægypt*, and might eaſily have been ſeen by *Alexander*, had he thought it worth his while, to ſtep a little out of his Way, to ſatisfy his Curioſity. But then, what can *Curtius* mean by his *Extra terminos Solis*? Sure, he ought rather to have ſaid, *Intra terminos Solis*, that is, between the two Tropicks, for he muſt have gone Southward to it, tho', as I hinted before, not very far. He certainly had in his Eye that Paſſage of † *Virgil*;

——— *jacet extra Sydera Tellus*
Extra anni Soliſque Vias ———

Whereby *Virgil* meant no more, than the Weſtern Parts of *Africa*; and ſuch Things are beautiful in a Poet, at the ſame time that they are abominable in an Hiſtorian.

8. His Deſcription of a Shower, and Cold, in *Book* VIII. *Chap.* IV. is full of Bombaſt, which, for that Reaſon, I ſhall forbear tranſcribing. After he has told us a Story of Thunder-bolts, and Rain, and Hail, all coming down together, he thus proceeds; "The whole Army went, by Files, "up and down, thro' the Wood; ſome, rather for Fear "than Wearineſs, fell down to the Ground; and the "Shower, as ſoon as it fell, was turn'd to Ice." I ſhall not here ſtand to inquire, whether Hail uſually falls, or Rains deſcend, or Thunder-bolts are darted down, at the Time of ſuch exceſſive Colds, as he there deſcribes, when the Drops freeze as they fall; but ſhall make bold to aſk, firſt, how the *Macedonians* came to be ſo violently ſcared with a Storm, that by their Fears alone they became weary, and deſpaired of Safety? And then, what Defence would they find againſt the Cold, by lying upon the Ground, which was all covered with Ice? This whole Sentence has nothing in it but an empty Sound, and Jingle of Words; but what follows is ſtill worſe; "Some ſtood againſt the Stumps,

* *Curtius, lib.* iv. *cap.* 8. 3. † *Æneid.* vi. 795.

"and

" and Bodies of Trees, finding there, at once, a Prop, and " Defence; and they were, at Night, to chuſe a fit Place to " expire in, when the Cold would let them live no longer: " It was a grateful Sloth to thoſe, who had been ſo much " fatigued with the Journey, to find an eternal Reſt." As if Men choſe rather to die ſtanding like Statues, than walk to get themſelves Heat, and keep them alive, or take the Pains to ſtrike Fire with Flints! " For the Storm not only " continued its Vehemence, but alſo knew no Abatement." But how ſtubborn ſoever the Cold was, a good Fire would have conquered it, or ſome Hours hearty walking rendered it tolerable. " But beſides the Tempeſt, which rendered " the Day as if it had been Night, the Shadineſs of the " Woods contributed not a little to the making all dark " round them." Theſe muſt be the Shades of naked Trunks of Trees, and bare Boughs, without Leaves; for there could be no other, at that Seaſon of the Year, when the Soldiers, who were born in a cold Clime, if compared with *India*, and inured to innumerable Hardſhips, were ready to die with Cold. But how could the Shade of bare Trees, without Leaves, be ſo much, as to rob thoſe beneath them of the Light? Sure, *Curtius* was in a Dream here, and forgot that when Trees are fully covered with Leaves, no ſuch Cold as he deſcribes, ever happens. " The King " alone, (for he was the only Man, among the whole Army, " who was not rendered inſenſible by the Cold) was able to " bear ſo great a Misfortune." But what was, at laſt, done, in ſo great Diſtreſs? Liſten to the Rhetorician; " But " Neceſſity, which is of more Efficacy, ſometimes, than " Reaſon, found out a Remedy againſt the Cold; for they " fell to cutting down the Wood with Hatchets, and having " made Heaps thereof, every where about, they ſet them on " Fire." Theſe *Macedonians* were as ſtupid, as if they had ſprung out of the Earth but a Day before, who could not deviſe a Remedy againſt Cold, but what Neceſſity, rather than Reaſon, forced them to find out, namely, the Art and Myſtery of kindling a Fire, to keep themſelves warm. *Curtius* might have added mightily to this Miracle, if he had told us, that the Fire was not kindled by human Hands, (for tho' they were numb'd with Cold, their Brains were full as numb) but by Lightning from Heaven, as among the firſt Men, according to the Poet;

Fulmen

* *Fulmen detulit in Terras mortalibus Ignem*
Primitus; inde omnis Flammarum deditur ardor.

A Style thus blown up into Bombaſt, becomes inſipid. But why ſhould we wonder at it; for *Curtius*, elſewhere, makes uſe of vaſt Circumlocution, to tell us, that the *Macedonians* kindled a Fire, to preſerve them from Cold. † "Their "Tents being pitch'd in a woody Place, before the Walls, "a Cold more vehement than any they had yet felt, ſeiz'd "them, for which, the Fires they made, were a very ſeaſon-"able Remedy; for having cut down many Trees, they "kindled huge Fires: Theſe caught hold on the Sepulchres, "which were of Cedar, and burnt them to the Ground." Any other Author would only have told us, that it was ſo exceſſively cold that Night, that the *Macedonians* made greater Fires than ordinary, to keep themſelves warm: But *Curtius*, by endeavouring to raiſe an humble Subject, by mere Dint of a Rhetorical Style, renders his Deſcription as cold as the Weather. Beſides, what can he mean by his *Flamma igni alita*? || *Tanaquil Faber*, indeed, reads it *Lignis alita*; but even this is cold, and dull; for what Occaſion had he to tell his Readers, that the Flame was nouriſhed by Wood? Who knew not this before? But to return to his former Deſcription of Cold, the following Paragraph is enough to choak any Miracle monger in *Europe*; "§ Some, they ſay, were found ſtanding againſt the Trees, "not only as if they were alive, but as if they were talking "to one another, ſtill retaining the ſame Poſture they were "in, when Death ſeiz'd them." Such a Cold, in an *Indian* Wood, was as ſevere, as it could have been under the North Pole, and had the ſame Effect as the Sight of *Meduſa*'s Head, namely, to turn living Men, in a Moment, into Statues; but what adds prodigiouſly to the Miracle is, that they who could ſtand, ſeem'd to have no Inclination to walk, but had rather ſtarve where they ſtood, than move from the Place, to light themſelves a Fire. In the following Paragraph, I fancy, there is a Fault in the Original, and it certainly muſt be ſo, unleſs *Curtius*'s Brains were frozen, when he wrote it: "It happened that a *Macedonian* Sol-"dier, carrying himſelf, and his Arms, came into the Camp."

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* *Lucretius, lib.* v.
|| *Epiſt. Critica, pars* i. *epiſt.* 55.
† *Curtius, lib.* viii. *cap.* 10. 7.
§ *Curt. lib.* viii. *cap.* 4. 7.

Nothing

Nothing can be more ſtupid, than his *Se, & arma ſuſtentans:* How could a Soldier march any where, without ſuſtaining himſelf, and Armour? However, *Bartholomew Merula's* Edition has ſet that right; *Vix ſe & arma ſuſtentans*; either from the Authority of ſome Manuſcript Copy, or by Conjecture. Several other Remarks might ſtill be made, on this Deſcription; but what we have already ſaid, places the Matter, ſo far as we at preſent intend, in a true Light. We will, therefore, cloſe this Obſervation, with the Judgment of a celebrated Critick; * "An unnatural Swel-
" ling ſeems to be the moſt difficult thing for a Writer to
" avoid; for whoever affect a Loftineſs of Style, and ſtrive,
" by that means, to aggrandize their Subject, leſt it ſhould
" ſeem low and groveling, ſwell inſenſibly into the other
" Extream, and perſuade themſelves,

" That to fail in great Attempts, is glorious.

" However, a Tumour is deſtructive in Oratory, as well as
" in the Body; it is hollow and ſpungy, and deſtitute of
" good Blood, and often throws us into the contrary Diſ-
" temper; for no Drought is comparable to his, who has a
" Dropſy."

9. They who aſpire too earneſtly at an unuſual Majeſty of Style, frequently neglect ſomewhat much more material, and fall into Soleciſms: Such are frequent in *Curtius*, a few whereof we ſhall produce as a Specimen. He enters upon his Fifth Book thus; " Many memorable Acts were, in
" the mean time, performed in *Greece*, *Thrace*, and *Illy-*
" *ria*, under the Conduct, and Command of *Alexander*,
" which, to relate in their Order, would interrupt the
" Thread of my Hiſtory of the Affairs in *Aſia*." Whoever underſtands *Latin*, knows, thoſe Things are ſaid to be performed *ductu imperioque Ducis*, which were performed by himſelf in Perſon, and *auſpiciis Ducis*, which were acted by his Lieutenants; which Word ought to be taken notice of, in this Place, becauſe the Speech is concerning Acts done by *Antipater*, while *Alexander* was in the furtheſt Parts of *Aſia*. If *Curtius* be allowed to be Judge in his own Cauſe, he condemns himſelf in this, as appears by a Paſſage *Lib.* VI. *Chap.* III. 2. where he introduces *Alexander* ſpeaking thus; " Not to mention the *Illyrians*, the *Triballi*,
" *Bœotians*, *Thracians*, *Spartans*, *Greeks*, and *Peloponne-*

* *Longinus de Sublimit. cap.* 3. *ſect.* 9.

" *ſians*, ſome of whom I ſubdued *(ductu meo)* by my own " Conduct, in Perſon; others (*imperio auſpicioque*) by " Officers commiſſioned for that Purpoſe." But even here, the Word *Imperio* had much better have been omitted, as differing little from *Ductu*. See the Difference between *Ductu* and *Auſpiciis*, in *Juſtus Lipſius*, *De Militia Romana*, *Lib.* II. *Dial.* 12.

10. In another Place, he thus expreſſes himſelf; * " In " an Inſtant, the Shower ceaſed; but, nevertheleſs, the " (*Nubes*) Clouds continued ſo thick, as to obſcure the " Light, ſo that they could ſcarce ſee one another, as they " talk'd together." He ought to have ſaid *(Nebulas)* Miſts, inſtead of (*Nubes*) Clouds; the *Nebulæ*, or Miſts, frequently deſcend to the Earth, the *Nubes* are higher. I know, the Poets often confound theſe two Words, but not without committing an Impropriety in Speech, which Fault is much leſs pardonable in an Hiſtorian. *Iſidore* puts this Matter beyond diſpute; † " *Nebula*, is ſo called, as is alſo *Nubila*, " *ab obnubendo Terram*, from obſcuring or darkening the " Earth, or becauſe when it mounts aloft, it compoſes " *Nubes* (Clouds): The moiſt Vallies exhale *Nebulas*, " Miſts, which become Clouds—— for *Nebulæ* fall low in a " Calm, and riſing high, the Air proves *nubilam*, cloudy." And thus *Livy* has it; " A Morning-(*Nebula*) Miſt, which " obſcures the Earth, as the Day goes forward, riſes aloft " into *(Nubes)* Clouds."

11. There is one Impropriety very frequent in *Curtius*, and that is, his calling the Royal Tent, or Pavillion, by the Name of *Regia*: Which Word, undoubtedly, ſignifies a Palace, and was never uſed for a Tent, by any other Author. *Paulus Diaconus* tells us, that *Regia* is the Houſe where the King reſides. *Curtius* had, therefore, much better have call'd it *Regium Tentorium*, or *Prætorium*.

12. But there is no Impropriety of Speech leſs tolerable throughout his Book, (if the Paſſage be uncorrupt) than what he relates of *Dioxippus*, when he calls him, || " A " noble Champion, who, by reaſon of the *eximiam virtu-* " *tem Virium*, was both well known to the King, and well " received by him." No Author upon Earth ever ſaid *virtutem Virium* before: but as one Manuſcript in the *Palatine* Library has *virium Magnitudinem*, I imagine it

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* *Curtius*, *lib.* ix. *cap.* 14. 24.
|| *Curt. lib.* ix. *cap.* 7. 16.
† *Iſidore*, *lib.* xiii. *cap.* 9.

ought

ought to be wrote *eximiam Virtutem, viriumque magnitudinem*; for thus *Diodorus Siculus* ſpeaks of this *Dioxippus*, and his Antagoniſt; * " As both of them were extreamly " remarkable, as well for their Strength of Body, as Cou- " rage, it was thought, that the Combat between them " would prove like thoſe of the Gods." I am not ignorant, that *Virtus* is ſometimes uſed to denote the Properties or Efficacy of a Thing, as when Phyſicians diſcourſe *(de Virtutibus)* of the Properties or Qualities of their Herbs, or Medicaments; but *Virtus virium* is a Phraſe which no Author ever uſed, beſides himſelf. This manner of ſpeaking can be defended no way, but by calling it a *Greciſm*; for among the *Greeks*, any Property is term'd ἀρετὴ, and perhaps it may not be improper to ſay, διὰ τὴν διαφέρουσαν ἀρετὴν ἰσχύος, *propter eximiam virtutem Virium*, as *Plato* ſays, διὰ ἀρετὴν πολιτείας, *propter præſtantiam formæ Reipublicæ*. But *Curtius* never ſeems to gape after *Greciſms* ſo much, as to introduce a Manner of ſpeaking altogether out of Uſe, and almoſt unknown among the *Latins*.

13. Fifthly, *Curtius* falls into the common Fault of the † Declaimers of his Age, which was to be abundantly too full of his Apothegms, or wiſe Sayings, which he not only introduces in his Speeches, but throughout all the Narrative Parts of his Hiſtory, as well directly as obliquely. I ſhall not trouble my Reader with Examples of this; they are every where to be met with, and diſtinguiſhed by having their firſt Word printed in Capitals, in ſome of the fineſt Editions of his Work, that they may be known, even to School-boys. I ſhall only add, that leſt the too frequent Number of direct ones ſhould diſguſt the Reader, he has ſometimes brought them in, in a negative manner, tho' hereby, for the ſake of Variety, he has almoſt ruined the Senſe. Thus, for Example, ſpeaking concerning thoſe, who had ſlain *Parmenio*, and who were alſo accuſed of other Crimes, before *Alexander*, he ſays; ‖ " Many of *Alex-* " *ander*'s Friends rejoiced, that Vengeance was fallen upon " thoſe Miniſters of Vengeance, neither can any Power " acquired by unjuſt Means, remain long in Poſſeſſion." The direct Meaning is, " No Power acquired by unjuſt " Means, can remain long in Poſſeſſion:" And thus the Senſe is fully and clearly expreſſed. But in order to intro-

* *Diod. Sic. lib.* xvii. *p.* 567. † See *Quintilian, lib.* ix. *cap.* 5.
‖ *Curt. lib.* x. *cap.* 1, 6.

duce it in a negative manner, and fit the whole Sentence to one Event, the general Words therein contained (to ſpeak logically) ought either to be changed to particular ones, or omitted. He ought, therefore, to have ſaid,— "They "rejoiced, that Vengeance was returned upon thoſe Mini- "ſters of Vengeance, and that a Power thus acquired by "unjuſt Means, was not laſting:" For otherwiſe, when it is expreſſed in general Terms, notwithſtanding it is wreſted into a negative Form, it ſtill ſtands aloof off from the Body of the Sentence, and ſeems quite of another Piece.

14. Theſe, and ſuch like Things, are worthy of diligent Obſervation, for fear we ſhould lay a Streſs upon ſuch Paſſages, as are unfitly or unaccurately expreſſed. Thus, for Example, *Curtius* expreſſes himſelf, concerning *Darius*'s Flight after the Battle of *Iſſus*; * "Fear fell upon the reſt, "and they betook them to their Heels, and fled, ſome one "Way, ſome another; they then threw down thoſe Arms, "as an Hinderance to their Flight, which they had, juſt "before, put on, to ſecure their Bodies from Danger: the "ſame Fear ſeized the auxiliary Troops." The Sentence in the Original is, *Adeo Pavor etiam Auxilia formidabat.* Some *Dutch* Editions have changed the laſt Word into *formidat:* And thus that excellent Critick *Tanaquil Faber* imagines it ought to be read; † "It is, ſays he, a Sentence "which belongs to all Men, in all Ages; for whoever quits "his Poſt for Fear, will naturally throw away his Arms, "for the ſake of Expedition." But the ſame Reaſon holds good for an Alteration in the former Paſſage, which none has yet attempted to make.

15. I now come to his Speeches, and dare averr, no Author of the ſame Bulk has ſuch a Number of direct ones, as *Curtius:* but before I enter upon this Taſk, I muſt aſſure my Readers, that I am entirely of the Opinion of thoſe Gentlemen, who would have all Speeches, as well direct ones, as others, omitted in a grave Hiſtory, unleſs they were really ſpoke, Word for Word, or, at leaſt, be the unfeigned Sentiments of him who ſpoke them. ‖ I am not to be told, what learned Men have wrote upon this Subject, to perſuade us, that an Hiſtorian may lawfully put Speeches into the Mouths of thoſe, concerning whom he writes, not ſuch as they really ſpoke, but ſuch as they might have

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* *Curtius, lib.* iii. *cap.* 6. 12. † *Epiſt.* li. *pars* 1. ‖ See *Johan. Gerr. Voſſius, in Arte Hiſtoria, cap.* 20, 21.

ſpoke,

ſpoke, or ſuch as the Hiſtorian judges they ought to have ſpoke, as fitteſt for the Matter in hand; tho' at the ſame time, they own, that moſt of thoſe, ſuppoſed to make Speeches, are far inferior to the Writer, in Eloquence. I am alſo ſenſible, that many of the Antients have interſperſed ſuch Speeches throughout their Hiſtories; but if we have a Value for Truth, the Elegancy of the Speeches we read there, (even by their own Way of arguing, who approve of them in Hiſtory) is enough to prove their Illegitimacy! for I can ſee no Reaſon, why a Man who requires ſuch ſtrict Truth in all other Parts of Hiſtory, ſhould be willing to allow of Lyes in ſet Speeches; and I can never be brought to think it any leſs Lye, to make a Man ſpeak what he never ſpoke, becauſe he ought to have ſpoke it, as to deſcribe him doing what he never did, merely becauſe he ought to have done it. Were it probable, that the Perſons, whoſe Lives or Actions they write, made uſe of the ſame Reaſons, or the ſame Motives, which the Hiſtorians aſcribe to them, in the Speeches they make for them; yet, at leaſt, thoſe Hiſtorians ought to ſpeak themſelves, and give their Readers a Caution, that theſe, or the like, were the Reaſons, wherewith thoſe (whoſe Lives or Actions they write) were induced to do, what then they did. If they acted in this Manner, none could complain of being miſ-led by them, notwithſtanding their Judgment or Penetration might, ſometimes, fall ſhort of what it ought: The Reaſons abovementioned will obſcure no Light, which can be afforded to Hiſtory, neither will any leſs Advantage accrue to the Readers; for nothing can be ſaid in direct Speeches, which may not be expreſſed as fully, and commodiouſly in ſome plain narrative Way, by a due Chain of Reaſoning.

16. Such fictitious Speeches are ſo far from advancing Truth, which ought to be regarded by an Hiſtorian, as the chief End of his Work, that they come not up even to Probability: for what can be imagined more abſurd, than to introduce Idiots and Barbarians expreſſing their Minds in Terms full as elegant, as if they had ſtudied Rhetorick all their Lives? What can be more ſtupid, or ridiculous, than to hear all, whom an Hiſtorian introduces as Speech-makers, haranguing with the ſame Force of Eloquence? and this not only the Readers of *Curtius*, but of all Hiſtorians of that Stamp, may take notice of. If Cuſtom would argue for theſe Things, ſure Reaſon, and even the Obſervation of *Decorum*, plead ſtrongly againſt them, and complain, that

Truth is ſo far from being illuſtrated by ſuch Ornaments of Falſhood, that ſhe is, thereby, evidently corrupted.

17. From the ſame Cauſe it happens, that injudicious Hiſtorians offend againſt the Rules of Probability, another Way: Wherefore *Calliſthenes*, who is cited by *Athenæus*, in his Diſcourſe of Machines, adviſed him, "who propoſes to "treat upon a Subject, by no means to wander from it; but "frame his Diſcourſes ſuitable, as well to the Perſon, as to "the Circumſtances of Time, and Action." But when Hiſtorians beſtow their own Eloquence on all, they not only make the Learned, and Ignorant talk alike, but as their Wit and Diſpoſition is turn'd chiefly one Way, and they do not eaſily aſſume thoſe of others, of various ſorts, all, into whoſe Mouths thoſe Speeches are put, ſpeak not their own Sentiments, but the Writer's. In *Curtius*, all are Declaimers, and ſpeak the Writer's Senſe of Things, and not their own: *Darius* declaims; *Alexander* declaims; the Soldiers declaim; even the * *Scythians*, the rudeſt and moſt illiterate of all Mankind, fall upon us with Rhetorical Flouriſhes. This brings to my Mind the Story of a Family who were all Singers: Thoſe who waſh'd the Feet of the Gueſts, ſtruck up an Air, and were anſwered by thoſe who pared their Nails, and cut their Corns; If a Boy had a Requeſt to make to his Father, it was done in a muſical Strain, and ſome other immediately join'd in the Chorus, inſomuch that you would have taken it for a Nurſery of *Pantomimes*, rather than an ordinary Family. Thus, in *Curtius*, all are eloquent Men, and Rhetoricians, all pour forth whole Vollies of wiſe Sayings, upon every Occaſion, and, oft-times, without any viſible Occaſion at all.

18. This is not all, for as ſoon as Hiſtorians have once accuſtomed themſelves to this Liberty, they, inſenſibly, fall into greater. They, who are wont to accommodate their own Wit, and their own Manner of ſpeaking, to the Speakers, by degrees begin to beſtow their own Prudence and Caution upon the Actors, and contrive the Circumſtances of Hiſtory to ſuit their own Inclinations, whenever they find them otherwiſe, in antient Authors; and by this means, Hiſtory is, in a great meaſure, changed to Romance. And if a Writer of this ſort, happens, at any time, to be deficient in his Knowledge of the Things, Times, or Places, he not only intrudes Lyes upon the Publick, but ſometimes Stories

* *Athen. p.* 2. *Edit. Paris.* † *Curt. lib.* vii. *cap.* 8.

incon-

inconſiſtent with the Nature of Things. Has my Reader a mind for an Example of this ſort, from *Curtius*? I will furniſh him with a couple: The firſt is, that remarkable Saying of *Orſines*, Governor of *Perſagadæ*, who * met the "King, with Store of all kinds of choice Gifts, not only "for himſelf, but his Friends; and when he had beſtowed "Preſents upon every one, beyond what they could have "expected, except *Bagoas* the Eunuch, who was *Alexander*'s "Paramour, and conſequently his Favourite, and being told "by ſome, how dear he was to *Alexander*, anſwered, that "he beſtowed Preſents upon the King's Friends, and not his "Catamites, and that it was not the Cuſtom of *Perſia*, to "ſhew Regard to a Man who had ſubmitted to the Lewd-"neſs of another: Whereupon, the Eunuch made uſe of the "Power he had acquired, by Wickedneſs and Debauchery, "to procure the Death of a *Perſian* truly noble, and deſerv-"ing." This Anſwer of *Orſines* was really generous, and might have ſuited a *Macedonian*; but the Miſchief is, no *Perſian* could ſpeak thus, who knew that *Darius* owed his Kingdom to another *Bagoas*, and had been too familiar even with this. How could *Curtius* perſuade himſelf, that a *Perſian* Nobleman, who had aſcended to the higheſt Honours in the Kingdom, could be ignorant of this, when many † *Greek* Authors have recorded it? and he has not paſs'd it over; for thus he introduces *Alexander* ſpeaking, in his Third Book; || "Even *Darius* himſelf did not ob-"tain the Kingdom of *Perſia* by Inheritance, but was "placed upon the Throne of *Cyrus*, by the Aſſiſtance of "*Bagoas*, an Eunuch." And in the Tenth Section of the very next Chapter, in one of *Nabarzanes*'s Letters, we are told, that "*Darius* having ſlain *Bagoas*, excuſed himſelf of "the Fact, by telling the Populace, that he had been guilty "of treaſonable Practices." And again, in the Twenty-third Section of the Fifth Chapter, among other Preſents, wherewith *Nabarzanes* is ſaid to have endeavoured to appeaſe *Alexander*, one, in particular, was "*Bagoas*, an Eu-"nuch of ſingular Beauty, and in the very Bloom of Youth, "with whom *Darius* had already been familiar, as *Alexan-"der* was afterwards." ‡ *Teridates*, an Eunuch, was alſo a Favourite of *Artaxerxes*, as *Ælian* aſſures us in his Hiſtory of *Aſpaſia*. From theſe Inſtances, every one may perceive,

* *Curtius, lib.* v. *cap.* 1. 24.
|| *Curt. lib.* v. *cap.* 3. 12.
† See *Freinſh. Suppl. lib.* ii. *cap.* 1. 1.
‡ *Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib.* xii. *cap.* 1.

that *Curtius* feigned an Anſwer contrary to the Nature of the Thing, by endeavouring to hammer out a Speech worthy of a Deſcendant of *Cyrus*, and one raiſed to the higheſt Pitch of Honour in the Empire: Or if the Caſe was otherwiſe, and that he did not make the Speech, he tranſcribed it from ſomebody elſe, who was as ignorant of the Matter as himſelf.

19. *Curtius* is over-laviſh of his Gifts to *Alexander*, and by beſtowing too much Foreſight upon him, makes him give very fooliſh Directions, when we are ſure none ſuch were given; conſidering how well the Matter was known among the *Macedonians* at that Time. "*Alexander*, ſays he, a little "before his Death, graſping vaſt Things in his Mind, had "determined, as ſoon as all the Sea-coaſt, towards the Eaſt, "was reduced, to invade *Africa* from *Syria*, being offended "at the *Carthaginians*," and to do other Things in the Weſt, which *Curtius* gives us an Account of, *Book* X. *Chap.* 1. 17. Which Expedition, thus conceived in his Mind, that he might be able to bring about, "He gave Orders to the "Governors of *Meſopotamia*, to cut down Wood from "Mount *Libanus*, and convey it to *Thapſacus*, a City of "*Syria*, there to lay the Keels, and build large Ships, all "of them of † Seven Banks of Oars, and thence, carry them "down the Stream to *Babylon*." I ſhall not ſay, that he ought rather to have ſent this Order to the Governor of *Syria*, under whoſe Juriſdiction Mount *Libanus* was; but who cannot perceive the glaring Folly of our Rhetorician, in pretending to build *Septireme* Gallies upon the *Euphrates*, that, from *Syria*, they might go againſt *Africa*, which is in the *Mediterranean*? However, the Matter, you may ſay, is not altogether ſo bad as it appears to be; for *Arrian*, in his Seventh Book, aſſures us, that that Fleet was deſigned againſt the *Arabians*, and to plant Colonies along the *Perſian* Gulph; and perhaps *Curtius* intended the ſame, by thoſe Words, "All the Sea-coaſt towards the Eaſt, being "overcome." However that be, the Matter was worthy to have been explain'd by more Words, to have avoided all Ambiguity; for otherwiſe, *Curtius* will be brought in guilty of an unpardonable Error in Geography, who could be in-

† Whoever knows what a *Septireme* Ship is, will eaſily grant, that none ſuch can ſail out of the *Euphrates*. The very largeſt Veſſels, which *Arrian* mentions, were no bigger than *Quinqueremes*, and of theſe there were only two. *Arrian*, *lib.* vii. *cap.* 19.

duced

duced to believe, that a Fleet might ſail out of the River *Euphrates*, by a ſhort Cut, to *Carthage*: But that he believed this, ſeems very probable, by the Bigneſs of the Ships there mentioned; for few bigger were ever ſeen in the *Mediterranean*, and none ſo big were fit for the Channel of the *Euphrates*, and *Tigris*.

20. Theſe Remarks we have thought neceſſary to make upon the Style of *Curtius*; and we could have illuſtrated them with more Examples, or have proſecuted the Matter much further, had not his Hiſtory been in every body's Hands, and what we have ſaid ſo apparent, that whoever underſtands *Latin* has no occaſion to be told, that our Obſervations are juſt. However, we have not here gone about to detract, either from the Elegancy of his Style, or the Roundneſs of his Sentences, or endeavoured to deter Boys from reading him, only let them read him as a Rhetorician, where the Style is chiefly to be conſidered; and let them alſo, if they please, collect from him as many wiſe Sayings as they can; they are much too frequent, throughout the Work, and generally injudiciouſly placed. However, I would not have them to look upon him as an Hiſtorian, ſtudious of Truth, whom they may confide in, nor, by any means, propoſe him as a Pattern for their Imitation throughout, if they deſign to make a Figure in that ſort of Knowledge.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Quintus Curtius *rather praiſed* Alexander's *exceſſive Ambition, than diſpraiſed it: Some famous Paſſages of* Seneca, *and* Lucan *concerning it.*

AS Hiſtory is intended not ſo much for Delight as Inſtruction, Hiſtorians ought cautiouſly to obſerve its Laws, and either condemn the Vices of him, whoſe Acts they undertake to rehearſe, or, at leaſt, deſcribe them in ſuch a Manner, that the Reader may know them to be Vices, and deteſt them as ſuch: Nor is he only to be told, that thoſe are Vices, which are flagrant, and conſpicuous, but ſuch alſo as are more ſecret, and lurk under the Maſk of Virtues. Among the firſt ſort, were the Drunkenneſs, Pride, and Cruelty, which appeared in *Alexander* after *Darius*'s Death, which *Curtius* often condemn'd: But of the latter, was that inſatiable Thirſt of Sovereignty, which ſpurr'd *Alexander* on, to make War, not only againſt the *Perſians*, but a vaſt number of other Nations, who had never injured him, nay, who had hardly ever heard of him before. In that Caſe, his Pride, Injuſtice, Cruelty, and Ignorance of himſelf, were join'd with ſuch a Contempt of all divine and human Right, that nothing could be a worſe, or more deſtructive Crime. This was the Cauſe why innumerable innocent Families, Cities, and Nations, were cruelly and inhumanly ravaged, ſpoiled, and, ſometimes, put to the Sword. Great and populous Kingdoms, by this ſingle Vice of his, have been deliver'd up to inſolent, luſtful, cruel, and rapacious Soldiers, and Governors. Notwithſtanding all which, moſt of the *Greek* Writers of his Life, are ſo far from condemning thoſe Devaſtations and Robberies, that they have deſcribed a haughty Monarch, and a blood-thirſty Army, (becauſe they committed their Actions boldly) as a Race of Heroes; and *Curtius* comes not a whit behind them, in that Caſe: for how much he approved thoſe Crimes, is manifeſt, by the exceſſive Encomiums he has paſs'd upon them: But if he had been as well verſed in Ethicks, as he would have us believe

believe him to have been, he would have made uſe of thoſe mighty Numbers of moral Sentences, wherewith he has interlarded his Work, to a better Purpoſe, and have wiped off that adulterate Daubing, wherewith a parcel of chattering *Greeklings* had beſmear'd him, and not ſuffered himſelf to be ſo hurried away with the vulgar Cry, as to dreſs up the moſt execrable Vices, in the Habit of Virtues, and commend them accordingly. Even in this Caſe, he has ſhew'd himſelf a Declaimer, by following outſide Appearances, and applauding Things which pleaſe the Vulgar, rather than thoſe which give Satisfaction to the Wiſe and Judicious.

2. But ſome may, perhaps, object, that we require thoſe things from a Heathen, which never came within the reach of a Heathen's Knowledge. This we can no way better confute, than by producing the Teſtimonies of Heathen Authors, antienter than *Curtius:* Their Sentiments of theſe Matters, are fit to be read here, and every where; for even at this Day, ſome Chriſtians are not much better ſighted than he; wherefore, we ſhall not think our Time ill ſpent, if we tranſcribe the Paſſages at large

3. *Plutarch* tells us, that *Ariſtotle* wrote ſome Letters to *Alexander*, to allay the Pride of his Heart; and I wiſh he had tranſcribed them throughout; for from them it would have plainly appeared, what that Philoſopher, who beſt knew him, thought concerning him. The little which *Plutarch* has given us, is very obſcure; but it was, perhaps, contrived ſo on purpoſe to exerciſe the Faculties of the furious Youth to whom it was directed. "It is not ſo much allow'd, "ſays he, to thoſe who govern a large Empire, to think "themſelves great, as to thoſe who have true Notions con-"cerning the Gods." Such noble Sentiments are of excellent Uſe towards publick and private Enemies.

Δυσήνων δ' τε παῖδες ἐμῷ μένει ἀνλίωσι.

Fate throws the wretched Race upon our Swords.

No leſs excellent is *Ageſilaus*'s Saying of the *Perſian* King, who was ſtyled Great: "None, ſays he, is greater "than I, unleſs he be better." *Ariſtotle*, if I judge right, aim'd chiefly at theſe two Things; firſt, that they ought not to grow proud, who had conquered vaſt Countries, as *Alexander* had done, unleſs their Piety towards the Gods was alſo eminent, which it is notorious *Alexander*'s was not, he being always ambitious of aſpiring to an Equality with them;

them: And, ſecondly, that no Glory was juſtly due to thoſe, who ſway'd vaſt Empires, unleſs they were alſo juſt, and beneficent, neither of which *Alexander* was: For if we compare his Beneficence with the Miſeries he brought upon the Innocent, he will never avoid being deem'd the Rod of divine Vengeance, ſo far was he from being eſteem'd the Darling of Mankind. For thoſe few Soldiers, or Blood-Hounds, for a few Whores, Sycophants, or Tyrants, whom he enrich'd with Gifts, or held in Favour, how many Thouſand Men, and whole Families has he ruined, plundered, cruelly tormented, and butchered? All, who durſt attempt to defend their own Poſſeſſions againſt his Rapaciouſneſs, were rendered miſerable; and therefore *Ariſtotle* could no way better deſcribe that miſchievous Diſpoſition of his, than by one of *Homer*'s Verſes, which he puts in the Mouth of *Achilles*, juſt ſuch another hair-brain'd Youth as himſelf;

Fate throws the wretched Race upon our Swords.

ſeeing he had made innumerable Parents childleſs, by ſlaying their Sons, in the Flower of their Age, while they were endeavouring to defend their Country, in a juſt and lawful War. None, ſure, will ſay, that that Man is juſt, who graſps at all, and claims every thing for his own, who imagines he alone was born to univerſal Monarchy, and that all Mankind beſides, ought to bow their Necks to receive his Yoke. Such a one might be excellently drawn, in thoſe two Lines which *Horace* intended for the Pourtraiture of *Achilles*;

Impiger, iracundus, inexorabilis, acer,
Jura negat ſibi nata, nihil non arrogat Armis.
De Arte Poetica.

Such a one, were his Empire never ſo wide, you may well pronounce leſs than the *Spartan* King, obſerving the Bounds of Juſtice, according to the wiſe Judgment of *Ageſilaus*. That this was *Ariſtotle*'s Opinion, I am induced to believe, tho' it be but darkly hinted at, becauſe, perhaps, he was afraid of his haughty Pupil's Reſentment.

4. I cannot forbear wiſhing, that *Cicero*'s Books *de Republica*, were extant: We might there, undoubtedly, read the true Sentiments of that great Man, concerning *Alexander*, as may be gathered from a Fragment, preſerved from the Third Book of that Work, by *Nonius Marcellus*: It is this

Anſwer

Anſwer of a Pyrate, whereby *Alexander* might learn, what Difference there was betwixt himſelf and ſuch Men. " For " when he aſk'd the Pyrate, By whoſe Authority he durſt " infeſt the Seas, with one Gally? By the ſame, anſwered " the Pyrate, wherewith you infeſt the World." I doubt not but *Cicero* allowed the Anſwer to be juſt, becauſe that Grammarian gives us this Sentence out of the ſame Book; " It is a kind of unhappy Slavery, when we ſee thoſe Things " which we have a Right to, in another's Poſſeſſion." Which Words may well be applied to thoſe free People, who were forced to ſtoop to *Alexander*'s Yoke.

5. But now give Ear to *Seneca*, who attacks his inſatiable Avarice much more warmly, (for I paſs by his other Vices) and condemns it: " When that great Conqueror of the Eaſt, " lifted his Heart above Mankind, the *Corinthians* or *Mega-* " *rians* ſent an Embaſſy to congratulate him, and withal, com- " plimented him with the Freedom of their City; and when " he ſmiled at this, as a ridiculous Offer, one of the Embaſſa- " dors told him, they had never offered the Freedom of their " City to any but to him, and *Hercules*; whereupon he freely " accepted the propoſed Honour, not ſo much conſidering " thoſe who had made him free of their City, as himſelf, thus " made free." A Man thus devoted to the Purſuit of Glory, without knowing its Nature, and Tendency, and tracing the Footſteps of *Hercules*, and *Bacchus*, without knowing where to ſtop, when he went beyond theſe, look'd upon the Authors of his Honour, as only Sharers with him therein, as if he had gain'd Poſſeſſion of all that he vainly graſp'd in his Mind, becauſe he had reach'd further than *Hercules*: " * To whom, ſays *Seneca*, could that mad Youth be liken'd, " who had only a fortunate Raſhneſs, inſtead of true " Courage? *Hercules* conquered nothing for himſelf; he " paſs'd over the Earth indeed, not to enſlave it, but to ſet " it free. Whom did he overcome? He was a Scourge to " Tyrants, a Defender of good Men, the grand Appeaſer of " the Earth, and Seas! But this Man (*Alexander*) was a " THIEF AND ROBBER OF NATIONS, from his Infancy, " the Deſtroyer of his Friends, as well as Enemies, who " placed his chief Happineſs in being deem'd a Terror to " Mankind, without conſidering that not only the fierceſt, " but ſometimes the moſt ſluggiſh Animals, are dreaded, " for their evil Diſpoſitions."

* *De Beneficiis, lib.* i. *cap.* 13.

6. As

6. As this was *Alexander*'s Ambition, and all his Deſigns tended this Way, it is ſomething ſtrange, that *Curtius* ſhould introduce him, juſt before the Battle of *Iſſus*, calling his Soldiers, * the Aſſerters of the World's Liberty, as if the *Macedonians* had ever had the Liberty of any Nations at Heart! However, *Alexander* continued not long in that Mind; for he, ſoon after, ſpeaks his true Sentiments, in a quite contrary manner, and tells his Followers, that "they "were to paſs beyond the Bounds of *Hercules*, and *Bacchus*, "and not only lay their Yoke upon the *Perſians*, but all "other Nations." So that theſe Aſſerters of the World's Liberty, were now making War with a Deſign to impoſe a Yoke of Slavery upon all Nations. But as *Hercules* was mentioned, and *Curtius* compared the *Macedonians* to him, he was obliged to call them the *Aſſerters of the World's Liberty*; but Truth afterwards forced him to change his Note, and repreſent them as deſigning to impoſe their Yoke upon the World. Thus, Declaimers, who are daily accuſtomed to mix Truth with Fiction, are not always conſiſtent with themſelves. But now let us return to *Seneca*.

7. Leſt our Readers ſhould imagine, that ſuch a ſevere Paſſage ſlipt unadviſedly, or accidentally from *Seneca*'s Pen, he falls as ſeverely upon him, in other Places; † "Tho' "*Alexander*, ſays he, extended his Conqueſts beyond the "*Red Sea*, he wanted more than he had won: For even "thoſe Provinces were not his own, which he had overcome, "and held in Poſſeſſion, while *Oneſicritus* the Admiral of "his Fleet, was in Search after new Lands, and endeavour-"ing to find freſh Wars on unknown Shores. Was it not a "certain Sign that he was poor, who muſt puſh his Con-"queſts beyond the Bounds of Nature? Who wilfully "plung'd himſelf into an immenſe, unfathomable, and un-"diſcover'd Ocean, to ſatisfy the unreaſonable Demands of "his Avarice? What Advantage gain'd he by all the "Nations he over-run, and all the Kingdoms he made "Tributary to him? What Things he coveted, thoſe he "wanted."

8. And in his One hundred and nineteenth Epiſtle, he exclaims full as bitterly againſt him; "That Man, ſays he, "has never too little, who is ſatisfied with what he enjoys; "and none can have enough, who is not ſatisfied. After "the Conqueſt of *Darius*, and the *Indies*, *Alexander* is

* *Curt. lib.* iv. *cap.* 10. 5. † *De Benef. lib.* vii. *cap.* 2.

"ſtill

" ſtill poor: He ſeeks other Kingdoms to conquer; he " ſearches unknown Seas, ſends forth new Fleets into the " Ocean, and, if I may be allowed to ſay ſo, burſts thro' " the Barriers of the World. The Bounds of Nature are " not ſtrong enough to confine his haughty Mind: He will " ſtill find ſomething to covet, after all his Conqueſts. Such " is the Blindneſs of our Underſtandings, and ſuch is the " Forgetfulneſs of all, of their narrow Beginning, while " their Ambition ſpurs them forward! He who was, but " lately, Lord of a ſmall, and inconſiderable Corner of the " World, and held not that without Trouble, returns now " from the remoteſt Parts of the Earth, thro' his own Terri- " tories, and is not yet contented."

9. From theſe Inſtances, it is evident, that *Alexander*'s inſatiable Avarice of others Properties, and the Boldneſs, and Arts he made uſe of, in invading them, join'd with the Power he had, which he converted to miſchievous Purpoſes, were his far greateſt Crimes, and the more deſtructive, the further they extended; yet notwithſtanding all this, if we will liſten to Rhetoricians, and Poets, they were heroick Virtues, whereby *Alexander* was almoſt entitled to a Place among the immortal Gods. They alledge, that all his other Vices were ſo qualified by theſe, (which were really Vices themſelves, ſcreen'd under the borrow'd Names of Courage, and Military Knowledge) that they ſcarce allow him to be tax'd with them. Thus, to ſee the Folly of the World! ſmall Vices ſhall be excuſed, for the ſake of thoſe of a deeper Dye, as if they ſhould ſet a Man at Liberty, who was accuſed of Theft, becauſe he had committed Murder.

10. 'Tis true, *Seneca* could never forgive *Alexander* that heinous Crime of putting *Calliſthenes* the Philoſopher to Death; and it is plain, he look'd upon this, as his greateſt Crime, and which all the Actions of his whole Life, however praiſe-worthy, were not able to palliate: " This, ſays " he, is an eternal Blot upon *Alexander*'s Name, which no " Valour, nor any Succeſs in War will ever wipe off." For ſhould any one ſay, *He ſlew many Thouſand Perſians*, he would add *Calliſthenes* to the Number: Should any ſay, *He ſlew* Darius, *a great Monarch, in Poſſeſſion of a large Empire*, he would immediately ſay, *and Calliſthenes*: Should any ſay, He conquered all the Sea-coaſts, and even ſearch'd it with new Fleets, and extended his Empire from an Angle of *Thrace*, to the utmoſt Eaſtern Limits of the Earth, he would add, " That notwithſtanding he had ſur- " paſſed the Examples of former Kings, and Generals, all

the

" the great Acts he performed, will not attone for that ſingle " Crime of putting *Calliſthenes* to Death."

11. To the Examples already given, we ſhall add one more; for as often as any ſhall ſay, * " He was endued with " incredible Courage, and Reſolution, Conſtancy in endu- " ring Labours and Travel, and Patience almoſt above " what became him; beſides, with Valour not only above " what is common in Kings, but even beyond that of thoſe " who made the Military Art their chief Employ;" we ſhall object, that his Avarice of other Mens Poſſeſſions and Properties, was alſo incredible, and inſatiable: Nothing was ſo ſacred among Men, which he trod not under Foot; no Danger was ſo great, which he would not attempt, nor any Labour ſo exceſſive, which he would not undergo; ſo that Thieves, Robbers, and Pirates, who, by the Deſperateneſs of their Circumſtances, are neceſſitated to take up theſe vile Practices for their Suſtenance, are not to be compared with him. As often as we hear him harangued for " his Libera- " lity, in beſtowing more than we even aſk of the Gods; " his Clemency towards the Conquered; ſo many King- " doms, which he had won by the Sword, either returned " to the former Princes, or given away, as Gifts; and above " all, for that conſtant Contempt of Death, which ſtrikes " ſuch a Terror into others;" we ſhall, without Heſitation, reply, that he was profuſe of what he had acquired by Ra- pine, and often beſtowed his Favours upon the Unworthy; that Towns were ſpoiled, and Kingdoms ranſack'd, that he might laviſh away the Wealth of others, among a parcel of Sycophants, and Blood-ſuckers, who were about him; that he was merciful only to ſuch as ſhew'd themſelves ready to receive his Yoke, notwithſtanding they were entitled, by their Birth, to the ſame Freedom as the *Macedonians*; that his Contempt of Death, was an Effect of Frenzy, which, to ſay nothing worſe, run thro' all the Acts of his Life; and laſtly, if he had any Appearance of Virtue, it was by no means to be compar'd with that eternal Luſt of Spoil, which hurried him on to invade the Rights of all Men, unleſs they were in- ſtantly deliver'd up to him: When Death ſeiz'd upon this common Enemy of Mankind, he was preparing, after he had ſubdued the Eaſt, to drown the Weſt too, in one Inundation of the Blood of its Inhabitants, unleſs they yielded a ſpeedy Sub- jection to him, tho' moſt of them had never heard of his Name, nor knew in what Quarter of the World *Macedonia* ſtood.

* *Curtius, lib.* x. *cap.* 5. 25.

12. But

12. But we have no occaſion of uſing Arguments of our own, to ſhew that *Alexander*'s Exploits rather blaſted his Memory among wiſe Men, than raiſed it; and, on that Account, we ſhall hear how * *Lucan* treads in the Steps of his renowned Uncle, and with his Words, conclude this Section. Thus he ſings of the Sepulchre of *Alexander*, which was to be ſeen in *Alexandria*:

There the vain Youth, who made the World his Prize,
That proſp'rous Robber Alexander, *lies.*
When pitying Death, at length had freed Mankind,
To ſacred Reſt his Bones were here conſign'd:
His Bones, that better had been toſs'd and hurl'd,
With juſt Contempt, around the injur'd World.
But Fortune ſpar'd the Dead, and partial Fate,
For Ages, fix'd his Pharian *Empire's Date.*
If e'er our long-loſt Liberty return,
That Carcaſs is reſerv'd for publick Scorn:
Now it remains a Monument confeſt,
How one proud Man could lord it o'er the reſt.
To Macedon, *a Corner of the Earth,*
The vaſt ambitious Spoiler ow'd his Birth:
There, ſoon, he ſcorn'd his Father's humbler Reign,
And view'd his vanquiſh'd Athens *with Diſdain;*
Driv'n headlong on, by Fate's reſiſtleſs Force,
Thro' Aſia's *Realms he took his dreadful Courſe:*
His ruthleſs Sword laid human Nature waſte,
And Deſolation follow'd, where he paſs'd.
Red † Ganges *bluſh'd, and fam'd* Euphrates' *Flood,*
With Perſian *this, and that with* Indian *Blood.*
Such is the Bolt which angry Jove *employs,*
When, undiſtinguiſhing, his Wrath deſtroys:
Such, to Mankind, portentous Meteors riſe,
Trouble the gazing Earth, and blaſt the Skies;
Nor Flame, nor Flood, his reſtleſs Rage withſtand,
Nor Syrts *unfaithful, nor the* Lybian *Sand:*
O'er Waves unknown, he meditates his Way,
And ſeeks the boundleſs Empire of the Sea;
Even to the utmoſt Weſt *he would have gone,*
Where Tethys' *Lap receives the ſetting Sun;*

* *Lucan*, *lib.* x. *ver.* 20. *&c.*

† 'Tis pity but *Lucan* had named the *Hydaſpes* here, inſtead of the *Ganges*, becauſe there happened a great Battle upon the Banks of the former; but *Alexander* never reach'd the latter.

Around each Pole, his Circuit would have made,
And drunk from ſecret Nile's *remoteſt Head,*
When Nature's Hand his wild Ambition ſtay'd.

ROWE.

13. After all this, none, I hope, will be able to ſay, that we derogate too much from *Curtius*, a Heathen, when we affirm, that he ought to have fix'd a Brand of Infamy upon *Alexander*'s Robberies, if he had not rather ſought after the Character of a Declaimer, than that of a grave Hiſtorian. This we only aim'd at here; for we never deſign'd to comprize a Hiſtory of his Life in this Compaſs. However, *Curtius* himſelf once ſlightly touches this Matter, in a Speech of the *Scythians*, wherein they are introduced ſpeaking thus to *Alexander*; * "Thou, who boaſteſt of thy coming to "repreſs Thieves, takeſt all the Kingdoms by Stealth, "where-ever thou comeſt." But he ought not to have touch'd the Matter ſo tranſiently, and paſs'd it over thus, with one oblique Glance, but have dwelt upon it largely, and explain'd himſelf fully, and freely upon that Subject; he ought alſo not to have put it thus into the Mouths of *Alexander*'s Enemies, but to have ſpoke it in his own Perſon; the Reflections of Enemies, upon that ſcore, being inſufficient.

14. Theſe are our unfeigned Sentiments concerning *Curtius*, and whoever will take the Pains to form a true and exact Judgment of them, will eaſily diſcern, that they were not wrote with any Deſign of bringing an elegant Author into Contempt, but out of a ſincere Love of Virtue and Truth, and a Deſire of advancing Learning, and aſſiſting the Youth, who lay out their Endeavours that Way. This we can ſafely affirm, that we have given none any juſt Occaſion of bringing our Veracity in queſtion, throughout this Work: However, we were call'd upon, ſome Years after it was firſt wrote, to defend ourſelves, which we did in *French* in the Third Volume of *Bibliotheque Choiſie*, to which we refer our Reader. We alſo wrote ſomething upon this Subject, in a Preface to *Pedo Albinovanus*, and ſhall therefore make an End here, leſt, by too many Arguments, we ſhould ſeem to intimate, that the Caſe was ſtill diſputable.

* *Curtius, lib.* viii. *cap.* 8.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

A Defence of Mr. Le Clerc *from the Cenſures of Mr.* Perizonius, *in his Treatiſe intitled,* Quintus Curtius vindicatus.

AS I have already tranſlated Nine long Chapters from Mr. *Le Clerc*, I hope my Readers will allow me to add One of my own, which I deſign as Obſervations on ſome Reflections of Mr. *Perizonius* upon him. I ſhall not preſume to croud all the Objections, and Replies, which have been made on both Sides, into this ſmall Compaſs; let it ſuffice, that I here preſent them with a brief Anſwer to ſome of the moſt material ones, and ſhall refer my Readers to the Originals themſelves, for further Satisfaction. Mr. *Perizonius* entitles the Treatiſe which he has written on this Account, *A Vindication of Quintus Curtius*; but his Deſign was levell'd at Mr. *Le Clerc*; and he has ſpared neither Time nor Pains to gather together whatever was poſſible, againſt him.

Firſt then, He accuſes him with writing too ſharply, too bitterly, with too little Candour, and with treating *Quintus Curtius*, whom he had owned to be an antient Author, with too much Severity, in his Cenſure. To which I anſwer, if he has advanced little or nothing againſt him, but what all his lateſt, and beſt Commentators, and even Mr. *Perizonius* himſelf owns to be juſt, I am of Opinion, that inſtead of vindicating the Reputation of *Curtius*, by that Treatiſe, he has ſhewed, that the Caſe is either deſperate, or he is a weak Reaſoner, and unfit to manage it. If any ſhould aſk me, To what purpoſe are thoſe ſharp Cenſures upon an antient Author? I would reply, That they are ſet up as Buoys or Beacons, to warn future Hiſtorians from running upon the Shelves and Shallows, where their Predeceſſors have ſuffer'd Shipwreck. The greateſt Glory any Author can receive, is from the Approbation of an impartial Critick, after a ſtrict, and thorough Examination; and none can be either afraid

or aſhamed of being brought to the Teſt, but ſuch as are conſcious of their own Defects, and Inabilities.

2. He has beſtowed above thirty Pages in telling us, that Mr. *Le Clerc* has accuſed divers Grammarians, Rhetoricians, and I know not who, of want of Humanity, and ſeveral other Crimes, when he is guilty of much more flagrant ones himſelf.——— All this may be true; but as neither I, nor *Quintus Curtius* are any ways concern'd in the Caſe, we have no Buſineſs to croud ourſelves fooliſhly into their Quarrel.

3. He freely owns, that *Curtius* underſtood little of Geography, and, on that account, made frequent Blunders; and yet he endeavours to defend him, *p.* 117, 118, 119. by alledging, in the firſt place, that *Curtius*, indeed, tranſcrib'd this and that from the antient *Greek* Hiſtorians; but the Queſtion is, whether he believed them himſelf?——— If he delivered that for Truth, which he did not believe himſelf, his Readers, inſtead of becoming wiſer by his Book, muſt, of Conſequence, grow the greater Blockheads. Secondly, He tells us, that *Curtius* was neither to write a new Hiſtory, nor to beſpatter the antient Hiſtorians, who afforded him Materials: That moſt of the Antients had given Accounts of Things, much the ſame with what we find in his Work.——— Admitting the Truth of all this, he cannot be juſtified; for *Curtius*'s Accounts of Things are far more romantick, and remote from Truth, than thoſe of moſt of the antient Hiſtorians; and if ſome of the *Greek* Writers publiſhed Romance for Truth, all did not; and whoever ſets up for an Author, ought to be careful, not only who he quotes from, but what he tranſcribes from them; otherwiſe, he is anſwerable for their Errors, as well as his own.

4. He ſays, *Curtius* is not to be blamed for aſſerting, firſt, that *Alexander* march'd, with his Army, over Mount *Parapamiſus*, and ſuffered great Extremities of Cold.——— No, certainly.——— Secondly, that as it was in *November*, it was no great Wonder, if the Tops, and North Sides of the Mountains were covered with Snow.——— Who ever ſaid it was?——— This, with a few Reflections upon Mr. *Le Clerc*, takes up above a dozen Pages; but then the grand Pinch ſtill remains, and I deſire him to anſwer, firſt, How could *Alexander*, and his Followers, find Inhabitants whoſe Huts, or Hovels, lay wholly covered with Snow all Winter? And, ſecondly, What could be the Reaſon of ſo vaſt a Darkneſs, by Day, in ſo Southerly a Latitude? See *Curt. vind. p.* 122, to 140.

5. He

5. He then falls foul upon Mr. *Le Clerc*, *p.* 147. for aſſigning the 20th Degree of North Latitude, for the Seat of the Oracle of *Hammon*, inſtead of the 28th.—— What can be the Cauſe of this, I cannot find. I have Mr. *Le Clerc*'s *Judicium de Quinto Curtio* now by me, and it is as plain 28, as ever was either printed or read.—— He then ſays, *Arrian* agrees with *Curtius*, in the Deſcription of the Fruitfulneſs of the Soil, and Temperature of the Clime there.—— But the contrary is apparent, from his own Words, *lib.* iii. *p.* 161. *Blancard.* "The Temple of *Hammon*, ſays he, is every "way ſurrounded with huge Waſtes, and thirſty Sands; "nevertheleſs, in the midſt of theſe, is a ſmall Spot, (of "about forty Furlongs, where broadeſt) which is ſtock'd "with fair Trees, *(viz.)* Olives, and Palm-Trees, and the "Soil is watered by a Fountain not far off."—— Now, whoever can find the wonderful Mildneſs of the Skies, the ſmiling of the Seaſons, and the perpetual Spring here, muſt either have ſharper Eyes, or a more pregnant Fancy, than I can pretend to.

6. Mr. *Perizonius* owns, *p.* 148. that *Glareanus*, *Raderus*, *Freinſhemius*, *Tellier*, and *Cellarius*, have all been upon *Curtius*'s Back, on account of his falſe Deſcription of the Countries round the Temple of *Hammon*; and therefore he wonders why Mr. *Le Clerc* ſhould give himſelf the Trouble, either to find new Faults, or animadvert afreſh upon the old ones. He then pleads, that the Antients knew very little of the inner, or midland Countries of *Africa*, and endeavours to excuſe *Curtius*, where he is unable to defend him.

7. He ſays, *Curtius* is no more to be condemned for giving a ſtrange Diſparity between the Numbers ſlain and wounded, on one Side and the other, than moſt other Authors.—— Where their Numbers are as extravagant as his, they are, undoubtedly, as much to blame as he.—— He then gives us ſeveral Reaſons, why the Vanquiſhed ſhould fall in far greater Numbers than the Victors:—— But ſuch a monſtrous Diſparity as One hundred thouſand, to fall on one Side, to One hundred and eighty-two on the other, is incredible.—— He brings us an Inſtance to prove, what Multitudes have fallen in one Battle, out of the *Chronicles*, *chap.* xiv. *ver.* 17. where *Abia* is ſaid to have ſlain Five hundred thouſand *Iſraelites*, tho' he had not ſo many Soldiers in his whole Army.—— I ſhall not pretend to criticiſe upon that Paſſage, becauſe I underſtand not the Original:

However, as the whole Extent of the Territories both of *Iſrael* and *Judah* was not much bigger than *Wales*, and as it is there ſaid, that the King of *Judah* brought Five hundred thouſand Men into the Field, and the King of *Iſrael* Eight hundred thouſand, I muſt beg leave to ſuſpend my Belief concerning thoſe Numbers, till I can be aſſured, from ſome able Critick in the Language, that they are the ſame in all Copies. See the Remark on *Curtius*, *Snaken. lib.* iii. *cap.* 11. 27.

8. Mr. *Le Clerc*, in his Criticiſm, *chap.* 3. 11. ſays, that *Curtius* ought frequently to have told us, he did not believe all he wrote. But, ſays Mr. *Perizonius*, *p.* 118, 119. it would have been the moſt ſtupid, and ſenſeleſs thing imaginable, for him to have told us this, over and over again.—— This Remark would be very juſt, had he ranged all his Truths at one End of his Book, and his Lyes at the other, and told us, once for all, that we might believe the firſt Parcel, but not the laſt. As they lie now promiſcuouſly huddled together, I defy any Reader upon Earth, without making uſe of his own Judgment, to diſtinguiſh which is Romance, and which true Hiſtory.

9. As to the Deſcription of Hook'd Chariots, taken notice of by Mr. *Le Clerc*, in his Criticiſm, *chap.* 4. Mr. *Perizonius* has very judiciouſly ſet his Maſter *Curtius* right, after there had been a vaſt Diſpute about it, and ſhew'd us plainly, that he may be defended in this Article. He has alſo drawn us the Figure of a Chariot-Wheel, according to *Curtius*'s Deſcription, which ſhews, at leaſt, that if the Antients had no ſuch Chariots in reality, they might have had them, there being now no Obſcurity in the Deſcription.

10. He has laboured hard to bring *Curtius* off from Mr. *Le Clerc*'s Cenſure in his Criticiſm, *chap.* 4. 5. but I am of Opinion, he has miſs'd his Mark: "What, ſays he, cannot "a Plain be vaſt, unleſs it be unbounded?"—— Yes, certainly.—— But then, if that Plain be as wide as an Eye can reach, it is ſufficient to contain any two Armies, that ever march'd into a Field, with Room enough for them to fight on. However, it is evident by *Curtius*'s Deſcription, that the moiſt Hills hindered the *Macedonians* from viewing the Army of the *Perſians*; therefore the whole was not level, and his Account thereof is ſtill imperfect, and unſatisfactory.

11. He tells us, *p.* 128, 129, 130. in Anſwer to Mr. *Le Clerc*'s Criticiſm, *chap.* 7. 25. that tho' the Writings of *Bæton*,

Bæton, and *Diognetus* were then extant, yet we have no Reaſon to ſuppoſe, that they gave Accounts of Countries, or the Stations of the Army any ways different from *Curtius*. —If they did not, *Eratoſthenes* did, and after him *Strabo*, both which Authors wrote before *Curtius*, and ſo, for any thing we know to the contrary, might *Plutarch*, and *Arrian* too.

12. This is ſaid, or thought to be an Error of Tranſcribers, by moſt Commentators, and that *Antipater* ought to be ſubſtituted, inſtead of *Alexander*. See Criticiſm, *chap.* 8. 9. Of this Opinion is *Tan. Faber*, *Tellier*, *Cellarius*, and *Pitiſcus*. However, Mr. *Perizonius*, *p.* 78, 79, 80. undertakes, from ſundry Inſtances from the Claſſics, to prove, that the Antients uſed the Words *Imperium* and *Ductus* indifferently.—— Be that as it will, *Curtius*'s Error ſtill remains; for *Alexander* was then in the utmoſt Parts of the Eaſt.

13. We now come to the Subject of his ſet Speeches, which Mr. *Le Clerc* has animadverted upon, *chap.* 8. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18. Mr. *Perizonius* endeavours to excuſe *Curtius*, or at leaſt to palliate the Matter as much as poſſible, by telling us, *p.* 92, 93, 94, 95. that Mr. *Le Clerc* has not ſufficiently diſtinguiſhed between Hiſtory, and Commentaries, or the bare Journals or Materials from which a regular Hiſtory is afterwards formed. He owns, that in Commentaries every thing ought to be juſt, and every Speech to be genuine, or, at leaſt, as near as poſſible; but then, for a Hiſtory to appear ſo, would be meer Patch-work. He adds, that ſometimes Speeches are too long to be inſerted; and that a Hiſtorian may take the Liberty to alter what he pleaſes, he thinks juſtifiable by the Example of Divines, who, when they are requeſted to print a Sermon, ſeldom print it exactly as it was delivered out of the Pulpit. To which I anſwer; Firſt, If an Hiſtorian muſt, and will interlard his Work with Speeches, let them be given us exactly as they were ſpoke; tho' I am of Opinion, he had much better omit them, and introduce what Hiſtorical Facts they may contain, in a Narrative Way. Secondly, If any Speech be too long to be inſerted into a Hiſtory, the Hiſtorian has the Liberty of abridging, but not of new modelling, and altering it. And, Thirdly, Tho' a Divine may really take the Liberty to alter any Part of a Sermon of his own compoſing, to make it appear the more advantageouſly to the Publick, he would take it very much amiſs, if another Perſon was to preſume to do it for him, and much worſe ſtill,

if a Stranger ſhould dare to publiſh a Sermon in his Name, which he never either preach'd or thought of.

14. We have a long Story in Mr. *Perizonius*, to bring *Curtius* off clear from Mr. *Le Clerc*'s Accuſation, in his Criticiſm, *chap.* 8. 18. He tells us, *p.* 99. That a *Perſian* Nobleman, who had been raiſed to the higheſt Honours, and who had had the moſt exact Knowledge of Affairs, might make a Speech like that; for who ſhould hinder him?—— Who indeed!—— He then proceeds; Have not Thouſands made fooliſh Speeches, or ill-timed ones; and might not an unreaſonable Sourneſs, or Oſtentation, or an imprudent Vanity, cauſe him to utter ſuch Things?—— Ay, that they might, or any thing elſe. *Alexander* could not immediately tye his Tongue; and ſo long as he had it at Liberty, he might ſay as proud, or as fooliſh Things as he would. But then Mr. *Le Clerc* might have added one thing more, to have ſtrengthened his Argument, which is, that *Arrian* aſſures us, towards the Concluſion of his Sixth Book, that he was accuſed of robbing Temples, defacing Monuments, and cauſing many innocent *Perſians* to be put to Death; for which Crimes, *Alexander* cauſed him to be crucified.

15. Mr. *Perizonius* plainly tells us, *p.* 106. in Anſwer to what Mr. *Le Clerc* had advanced in his Criticiſm, *chap.* 8. 19. that *Curtius* was not ſo great a Fool as not to know, that Mount *Libanus*, and the City *Thapſacus*, were both in *Syria*; and on that account, he owns, it might have been proper to have ſent thoſe Orders to the Governor of *Syria*. But who knows, ſays he, what Reaſons *Alexander* had, to do what he did?—— Or who knows, ſay I, what Reaſons *Curtius* had, to write what he wrote?—— Perhaps, ſays he, the Governor of *Syria* was then abſent, executing his Commands elſewhere, or perhaps he was one of thoſe, who had been guilty of Male-Adminiſtration, and, when he heard of *Alexander*'s Return, fled away, for fear of being called to Account; for ſurely, ſays he, if *Curtius* had not found the Circumſtance thus, in the antient *Greek* Authors, from whom he copied, he would never have added it out of his own Head.—— Perhaps both of his perhaps's may be to no purpoſe. The firſt Governor of *Syria*, whom *Alexander* appointed, was *Arimmas*, and him he diſpoſſeſs'd, for aiming at Sovereignty, as *Arrian* aſſures us, *lib.* iii. *p.* 168. *Blancard*, and deputed *Aſclepiodorus*, the Son of *Eunicus*, to govern in his ſtead. This *Aſclepiodorus*

is

is again mentioned as bringing Recruits to *Alexander* at *Zariaſpa* in *Bactria*, *lib.* iv. *p.* 254. and again, *lib.* iv. *p.* 269. where he is call'd the Governor of *Syria*. Now, what became of him afterwards, is hard to know; but as we hear nothing more of him, I am of Opinion, he continued in his Government till *Alexander*'s Death, and then was ſet aſide, in the general Diviſion of the Empire; for all Authors agree, that *Syria* was then given to *Laomedon* the *Mitylenean*.— He then falls heavy upon Mr. *Le Clerc*, for inſinuating, in a Marginal Note, that the Mouths of the *Tigris* and *Euphrates* were not fit to receive Veſſels ſo large as *Septiremes*, and brings an Example from *Livy*, *lib.* xlv. 35. of a Ship with Sixteen Banks of Oars, drawn up the *Tiber* as high as *Rome*. This may, perhaps, as he ſays, be one of the Effects of haſty Writing. However, there are ſo many excellent Remarks contain'd in that Criticiſm, that we may very well excuſe this, and an hundred other ſmall Errors, if there were ſo many, for their ſakes.

Mr. *Perizonius* made ſome Objections againſt this Criticiſm, in his Animadverſions upon *Ælian*, *pag.* 728. Theſe were anſwered by Mr. *Le Clerc*, under the feign'd Name of *Theodorus Gorallus*, in his Preface to *Pedo Albinovanus*. Mr. *Perizonius* wrote a Reply, intitled, *A Vindication of* Quintus Curtius, *&c.* This was fully anſwered by Mr. *Le Clerc*, in *Bibliotheque Choiſie*, *Tom.* iii. *p.* 171, *&c.* ſince which Time we have heard nothing of it.

THE

THE GENEALOGY OF *ALEXANDER.*

ARRIAN aſſures us, *lib.* i. *cap.* 11. (and indeed all Authors agree with him) that *Alexander* deduced his Pedigree from *Hercules* by the Father's Side, and from *Achilles* by the Mother; and as the clearing up that Point, (ſo far as it is poſſible, at this Diſtance of Time) may be of ſome Uſe to our Readers, we ſhall preſent them with a brief Account of the Royal Stemm, from *Reineccius*, who ſeems to have given it with the utmoſt Accuracy and Diligence. He has, indeed, begun with *Alexander* himſelf, and traced it backward; but I chuſe rather to begin with *Hercules*, and *Achilles*, and preſent them in the ſame Order as they appeared in the World. In the firſt place, therefore,

HERCULES

HERCULES had a Son named *Temenus*, (as is evident from the Fragment of a Satire in *Scaliger*'s Additions to *Euſebius*, *p.* 372.) from whom came the Race of the *Temenidæ*, who held the Kingdom of *Argos* for a long Time; of which Family was

CARANUS, an *Argive* by Birth, the Founder of the *Macedonian* Kingdom: Who were his Parents, is not known, any further than that he deduced his Pedigree from *Temenus* the Son of *Herculeſ*.

CÆNUS, the Son of *Caranus*, and Father of *Tyrimas*, reign'd in *Macedonia* Twelve Years,

TYRIMAS reign'd Thirty-eight Years, and left the Kingdom to his Son *Perdiccas*.

PERDICCAS, the firſt King of *Macedon*, at his Death ſhew'd his Son the Place where he, and his Succeſſors, ſhould be interr'd; and foretold, that the Kingdom ſhould remain in that Family, as long as that was done: On which Account, ſome vainly

ACHILLES, the Son of *Peleus* and *Thetis*, by *Deidamia*, Daughter to *Lycomedes* King of *Scyrus*, begat a Son, whom he named *Pyrrhus*.

PYRRHUS, the Son of *Achilles* by *Lanaſſa*, Daughter to *Cleodæus*, of the Race of the *Heraclidæ*, begat *Pyrrhus*; who is ſuppoſed to have died young, and *Alenas*; from whom proceeded the Family of the *Alenidæ*, as alſo *Ethneſtus*, whence came the Family of the *Ethneſtæ*; beſide five Daughters. By *Andromache*, *Hector*'s Widow, he begat *Moloſſus*, from whom the People of *Epirus* were named *Moloſſi*; as alſo *Pielus*, and *Amphialus*, ſurnam'd *Pergamus*.

PIELUS, was alſo called *Pylades*: How many Sons he begat, is not known; but that he left ſome, is certain, becauſe *Pauſanias* aſſures us, that the *Pyrrhus* who waged War with the *Romans* deriv'd his Pedigree from him.

ALCON, married *Agariſta* Daughter to *Cliſthenes* the *Sicyonian*. His Progenitors are unknown, excepting

vainly imagine that the Family became extinct in *Alexander*, becauſe he was interr'd elſewhere. See more of this in *Herodotus*, *l.* 8. *c.* 137. where he gives us that Story ſomewhat different.

ARGÆUS, King of *Macedonia*, routed the *Illyrians*, who then made War upon the *Macedonians*, having deceived them with a *Bacchanal* Entertainment.

PHILIP, the firſt King of that Name, King of *Macedonia*.

AEROPUS, King of *Macedonia*, an Infant, was carried into the Army in his Cradle, by the *Macedonians*, who were then hard put to it by the *Illyrians*; and the Event anſwered their Hopes.

ALCETAS, King of *Macedonia*, reign'd Twenty-nine Years, and left for his Succeſſor

AMYNTAS the Firſt, King of *Macedonia*, who being overthrown by *Megabazus* the *Perſian*, General to *Darius*, the Son of *Hyſtaſpes*, left *Alexander* excepting only that it is evident, he was one of the Race of *Pielus*.

ADMETUS, King of *Epirus*, (to whom *Themiſtocles* fled) of *Phthia* his Wife, begat a Son named *Arymbas*.

ARYMBAS, was educated at *Athens*: After he came to the Kingdom, he framed Laws, eſtabliſhed a Senate, appointed annual Magiſtrates, and regulated the Affairs of the Commonwealth. He is alſo call'd *Tharymbas*, *Tharytas*, and *Tharypus*, according to the uſual Variations of proper Names.

ALCETAS, King of *Epirus*, being expell'd by his Subjects, fled to *Dionyſius* King of *Sicily*, and returning to his own Kingdom, begat *Neoptolemus* the Father of *Olympias*, and *Arybbas*, who waged War againſt his Brother, and forced him to allow him a Share in the Kingdom; and then marrying *Troas*, his Brother's Daughter, he begat *Alcetas*, who reign'd after him, as alſo *Æacides* the Father of *Pyrrhus*.

NEOP-

ander his Son, ſurnamed *the Rich*, and *Bocrus*, whoſe Son *Meleager* begot *Arſinoe*, Mother to King *Ptolemy*, and *Gygæa*, who, by one *Bubares*, a *Perſian*, brought forth *Amyntas*, on whom *Xerxes* beſtowed *Alabanda*, a City of *Phrygia*.

ALEXANDER, King of *Macedonia*, ſurnamed *the Rich*, and *Philellen*, who waged War againſt *Xerxes*, and the *Perſians*, begat a Son call'd *Perdiccas*, and *Alcetas*, who was afterwards ſlain by *Archelaus*, the baſe Son of *Perdiccas*, beſides a third, whom he named *Philip*.

PHILIP, ſurnamed *Tharraleus*, being expell'd out of his Kingdom of *Macedonia* by his Brother *Perdiccas*, died in Exile, leaving one only Son behind him.

AMYNTAS the Second, King of *Macedonia*, who was twice expell'd out of his Dominions, and as often reſtored, of *Eurydice*, an *Illyrian* Woman, begat *Alexander*, the Third of that Name, King of *Macedonia*; *Perdiccas* the Third, whoſe Son *Amyntas*, by *Cyna* the Daughter of *Philip*,

NEOPTOLEMUS, King of *Epirus*, who ſhared his Territories with his Brother *Arybbas*, begat that *Alexander* who married *Cleopatra*, the Siſter of *Alexander the Great*, and who carrying his Arms into *Italy*, there died; as alſo *Neoptolemus*, who accompanying *Alexander* into *Aſia*, was the firſt who mounted the Breach at the ſtorming the City *Gaza*, *Arrian*, *lib.* ii. *cap.* 27. He, after this, held the Kingdom of *Epirus* ſome Time, but was, at laſt, ſlain by *Pyrrhus*. *Aribbas*, who baſely violated the League he had enter'd into with *Leoſthenes* againſt the *Macedonians*: *Troas*, who was married to her Uncle *Arybbas*: *Olympias*, the Mother of *Alexander the Great*: and *Cadmia*, who diſcovered the treacherous Deſigns of her Brother *Neoptolemus* againſt *Pyrrhus*.

OLYMPIAS, after the Death of her Son *Alexander*, being hated for her exceſſive Ambition, and having committed many Acts of Cruelty, was, at laſt, taken at *Pydna* by *Caſſander*, and put to Death.

Philip, begat *Eurydice*, Wife to *Aridæus*; *Philip* the Second, Father to *Alexander the Great*; beſides a Daughter named *Euryone*, who diſcloſed her Mother's wicked Devices to her Father. Of *Gygæa*, or, as others have it, *Cygnæa*, he begat *Archelaus*, *Argæus*, and *Menelaus*; and by a Harlot, whoſe Name is unknown, he had *Ptolemy*, ſurnamed *Alorites*, who begat *Philoxenus*, whoſe Progeny is not recorded.

PHILIP, King of *Macedonia*, being ſlain by *Pauſanias*, in the Forty-ſixth Year of his Age, by his Wife *Olympias* begat *Alexander the Great*, and *Cleopatra*, who was given in Marriage to her Uncle *Alexander*, King of *Epirus*. By *Audaca*, an *Illyrian* Woman, he had *Cyna*, who was by her Father beſtowed upon *Amyntas*, his Couſin-German, and afterwards put to Death by *Alcetas*, Brother to *Perdiccas*. By *Nicaſipolis* the *Pheræan*, he had *Nicæa*, whom *Caſſander* married. By *Cleopatra*, the Siſter of *Attalus*, he had *Europa*, whom *Olympias* is ſaid to have ſlain in her Mother's Arms; as alſo *Caranus*, who was put to Death by the ſame Hand. By *Arſinoe*, whom he married to *Lagus* when ſhe was with Child, he begat *Ptolemy* King of *Ægypt*. By *Philina*, a Dancer of *Lariſſa*, he had *Aridæus*, who held a Shadow of Empire for Six Years after his Brother *Alexander*'s Death; but being at laſt betrayed into the Hands of *Olympias*, and cruelly put to Death, the *Macedonian* Line of the Race of the *Heraclidæ*, in him, became extinct.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT, married firſt *Roxane*, the Daughter of *Oxyartes* the *Bactrian*: She bore him a poſthumous Son, called *Alexander*, who was ſlain by *Caſſander*. *Rheineccius* tells us, that he afterwards married *Barſine*, the Daughter of *Artabazus*; but that is a Miſtake, which *Freinſhemius*, and ſeveral other great Men, have fallen into, by the Similitude of Names, and the corrupt Copies of *Arrian*. 'Tis true, ſhe is moſt commonly named *Barſine*, (but then ſhe is always called the Eldeſt Daughter to *Darius*:) However, ſome Copies of *Arrian* call her *Arſine*; and *Photius* gives us her right Name, which was *Arſinoe*. *Vide Arrian.* apud *Photium*,

Photium, *lib.* ix. She is called *Statira* by *Diodorus Curtius*, and *Juſtin*; but the Name is thought to be corrupt. *Vide Notas ad Curt. lib.* iv. *cap.* 5. 1. By her he had alſo a poſthumous Son, named *Hercules*, whom *Polyſperchon* ſlew, in the Sixteenth Year of his Age. He alſo married *Paryſatis*, the youngeſt Daughter of *Ochus*; but whether he had any Children by her, is not known. By *Cleophis*, a Queen of *India*, he is ſaid to have had a Son called *Alexander*, who ſucceeded to his Mother's Dominions.

ERRATA.

Page 11. Line 5. *dele* ſo.
29. Line 15. for *Priamus*, read *Priapus*.
49. Line 27. *for* offered, *read* afforded.
80. Line 17. dele *Perſian*.
104. Line 7. for *Thaliſcus*, read *Theſſaliſcus*.
158. Line 18. for *Pharſelian*, read *Pharſalian*.
180. In the Notes, L. 13. *for* Contraction, *r*. Contradiction.

ARRIAN's

PREFACE.

I HAVE chose to make use of the Writings of [1] Ptolemy *the Son of* Lagus, *and of* Aristobulus *the Son of* Aristobulus, *concerning* Alexander *the Son of* Philip, *as the most authentick Accounts of those Actions, so far as they are consistent with themselves, or with each other; and in those Points where they differ, which-soever appeared to me the most consonant to Truth, and fittest to be recorded, I have followed. Others indeed have set* Alexander's *Acts in a different Light; and there is no*

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[1] *Freinshemius*, who has wrote the best, as well as the largest Supplement to *Curtius*, serves us here as the Pyrates do Merchant Ships, by putting out false Colours till they have decoy'd them within the Reach of their Guns, and then hoisting the black Flag with the Death's Head. He purloins almost all *Arrian*'s Preface, and very gravely tells his Readers, that the greatest Part of what they may expect is from *Ptolemy* and *Aristobulus*, &c. *Vid. Supplem. ad Curt. lib.* 1. *ch.* 1. *Ed. Snakenburg.* 'Tis true, he has been very free with *Arrian*, as far as his Supplement goes, but the Moment *Curtius*'s own Work begins, there is not a Word from *Ptolemy* nor *Aristobulus* more.

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Hero, on whoſe Life ſo many Pens have been employed, or where they diſagree ſo much among themſelves. But Ariſtobulus *and* Ptolemy *are preferable to all the reſt, and moſt worthy of Credit: For as the firſt was one of* Alexander's *Companions in that Expedition, and the latter not only bore a Command there, but was alſo* [2] *King himſelf afterwards, a Deviation from Truth would be more unpardonable in them than others. And ſure their Veracity is the leſs to be doubted, becauſe they compiled their Hiſtories after* Alexander's *Death, when neither Fear nor Favour could induce them to relate Facts otherwiſe than they really happened. Some Things touch'd upon by others, I have thought not altogether unworthy the* Rehearſal, *as falling within the Compaſs of Probability; but thoſe are only delivered as Reports. And if any now wonder why, after ſo many Writers of* Alexander's *Acts, I alſo attempt the Task, and endeavour to elucidate the ſame, after he has peruſed the reſt, let him proceed to the reading of mine, and he will find leſs Cauſe of Wonder than before.*

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[2] *Ptolemy*'s Mother was named *Arſinoe*; ſhe being with Child by *Philip* King of *Macedon*, he married her to *Lagus*; whence he is uſually ſtiled *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagus*. He bore a Command in *Alexander*'s Army, was one of his Body Guards, and after his Death obtained the Kingdom of *Ægypt*. See *Pauſanias in Atticis. Suidas. & Freinſheim. in Curt. lib.* ix. *ch.* 8, 22.

ARRIAN's

ARRIAN's HISTORY OF ALEXANDER's Expedition.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

PHILIP [1] died when *Pythodemus* was Archon at *Athens*, and his Son *Alexander*, then about twenty Years of Age, aſcended his Throne, and march'd into *Peloponneſus*, where, in a grand Council of all the *Greeks* of thoſe Parts, he requeſted to be made General of the intended Expedition againſt the *Perſians*, (an Honour which had been before

[1] *Pauſanias*, a young Nobleman of *Macedonia*, having been forcibly abuſed by *Attalus*, made his Complaints to King *Philip*; but *Attalus*'s Intereſt prevailing, and he finding no Redreſs, turn'd his Rage upon the King; whereupon, as he was to ſee ſome Shows between the two *Alexanders*, his Son, and Nephew, without his ordinary Guards, he was ſuddenly aſſaulted and ſlain. See *Diodor. lib.* xvi. *pag.* 482. *Editionis Hannovia, & Juſtin. lib.* ix. *cap.* 6, & 7.

conferr'd on his Father *Philip.)* This was granted by all, except the *Lacedæmonians*, who alledged that by an antient Cuſtom of theirs, deduced from their Anceſtors, the *Lacedæmonians* ought not to obey the Orders of a foreign General, but themſelves to have the Command of any Army raiſed for a foreign Expedition. The *Athenians* were alſo buſy in contriving to bring ſome Innovation about, but were ſo terrified at *Alexander*'s Approach, that they decreed him more Honours than they had before promiſed his Father. He then returned into *Macedonia*, to raiſe Forces for his Expedition into *Aſia*: However, the Spring following, he determined to march thro' *Thrace*, and ſo to penetrate into the Countries of the [2] *Triballi* and [3] *Illyrians*, who, he heard, were alſo plotting Miſchief; and as they almoſt border'd upon his Kingdom, he deem'd it inconſiſtent with true Policy to neglect humbling them, before he attempted to march with his Army againſt Places ſo remote; wherefore ſetting out from [4] *Amphipolis*, he march'd firſt againſt thoſe [5] *Thracians*, who were govern'd by their own Laws, and tenacious of their own Cuſtoms, and leaving the City *Philippi*, and the Mountain *Orbelus* on the left, and having paſs'd the River *Neſus*, after ten Days Journey, he arrived at Mount *Hæmus*. Here, a mighty Number of the neighbouring Inhabitants appear'd in Armour, as alſo Multitudes of the free *Thracians* abovemen-

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[2] The *Triballi* were a ſtout Nation inhabiting the lower Part of *Mœſia*, between Mount *Hæmus* and the River *Iſter*: their Country is now called *Bulgaria*.

[3] The Country of *Illyria* bordered on the *Adriatick* Sea on one Side, and on *Pannonia* on the other: It is now called *Sclavonia*.

[4] *Amphipolis* was a City ſeated on both Sides of the River *Strymon*, partly in the Borders of *Thrace*, and partly in thoſe of *Macedonia*.

[5] The *Thracians* were a valiant People: Their Country, which was bounded by the *Euxine* and *Ægæan* Seas, and Mount *Hæmus*, is now called *Romania*.

tioned,

tioned, being fully determined, by ſeizing the Tops of the Mountains, and ſecuring the Streights, or Paſs, to hinder him and his Army from any further Progreſs. Their Carriages, or Waggons, they therefore placed before them, not only to ſerve inſtead of a Breaſtwork for their Security, if they ſhould be attack'd, but they reſolv'd, if the *Macedonians* attempted to aſcend, to tumble them down among them, from the moſt ſteep and rugged Parts of the Mountain; for they had well conſider'd, that the more firm the Phalanx was, into which theſe Carriages ſhould be thus hurried, the more Execution would be performed by the Violence and Rapidity of their Fall. But *Alexander* conſulted how he might, with the leaſt Danger, gain that Paſs, and being aſſured that the Mountain muſt be aſcended, and that there was no other Way for an Army to march, warn'd his Soldiers, the Moment they perceived the Enemy's Machinery put in Motion, that thoſe whom the Convenience of their Station would allow, ſhould open their Ranks, and ſuffer them to roll freely through, but thoſe who were confined by the Narrowneſs of the Paſs, ſhould cloſe their Shields artfully together, and fall flat on the Ground, ſo that when the Carriages paſs'd over them with their utmoſt Velocity, they might receive as little Damage as poſſible; and the Event anſwer'd *Alexander*'s Expectations; for ſome of them opening their Ranks, and others cloſing their Shields, and thereby covering their Bodies, they ſuſtain'd the Shock without the Loſs of one Man. The *Macedonians* thus freed from the Enemy's Contrivance, reaſſumed their Courage, and raiſing a loud Shout, advanced againſt the *Thracians*. *Alexander* order'd his Archers to move from the Right Wing, and place themſelves before another Phalanx, (becauſe there the Aſcent was eaſier) and gall the Enemy from thence with their Arrows. He himſelf, beſides his own Cohort, led on

on the [7] Targeteers and [8] *Agrians* on the Left. The Archers beat the *Thracians* back with their Arrows, where-ever they approach'd within their Reach; and the Phalanx advancing, without any great Difficulty, forced the [9] *Barbarians*, who were ill armed and defenceleſs, to quit their Poſts, and thereby render'd them unable to ſtand the Shock of *Alexander* ruſhing upon them from the Left. Wherefore, caſting away what Armour they had, on the Mountain, they fled. About fifteen hundred of them fell on the Spot; few were taken Priſoners, the Swiftneſs of their Flight, and their exact Knowledge of the Country, ſecuring them; but the Women and Children who followed the Camp were all taken, as alſo much Spoil.

CHAP. II.

THE Spoil which the King had ſeiz'd he ſent into the Maritime Places behind him, giving the Charge thereof to *Lyſanias* and *Philotas*. He himſelf having gain'd the Aſcent, paſs'd by Way of *Hæmus* in his March againſt the *Triballi*, and came to the River *Lyginus*, (which is diſtant from the *Iſter*, if you take *Hæmus* in the Way, about three Days Journey.) *Syrmus* King of the *Triballi* being inform'd of *Alexander*'s Approach, had diſpatch'd the Women and Children, and all his defenceleſs

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[7] Υπασπισοὶ, *Scutati*, which I have all along tranſlated Targeteers, were certain Companies of light-arm'd Foot, very uſeful in expeditious Marches.

[8] Ἀγριᾶνοι. *Agrians*, were Darters on Foot.

[9] The *Greeks* were ſo proud, and valued themſelves ſo much upon their own Knowledge, that they term'd all other Nations Barbarians.

Multi-

Multitude to the *Iſter*, with a ſtrict Charge that they ſhould paſs over a Branch of that River, and ſecure themſelves in a ſmall Iſland named *Peuce*, (whither alſo the *Thracians*, their Neighbours, on the ſame Intelligence, had before retired) and *Syrmus* himſelf, with his Guards, ſoon after followed. However, a great Multitude of the *Triballi* retreated to the River (*Lyginus*) from whence [1] *Alexander* decamp'd the Day before. When he heard this, he return'd, and marching againſt theſe, ſurprized ſome of them in their Tents, and then proceeded againſt the reſt, who lay encamp'd in a Wood adjacent to the River. *Alexander* firſt prepared his own Cohort for the Onſet, and then diſpatch'd the Archers and Slingers, with Orders to provoke the Barbarians with Stones and Arrows, and by that means, if poſſible, draw them out of the Wood into the open Country. The Enemy, who were within Reach of their Darts and Stones, and were gall'd with their Arrows, ruſh'd forward upon the Slingers and Archers, who were unarm'd, and endeavour'd to fight them Hand to Hand. But *Alexander* having by that Stratagem drawn them out of the Wood, order'd *Philotas*, with a choice Party of *Macedonian* Light Horſe, to charge them on the Right Wing, and *Heraclides* and *Sopolis*, with the *Bottaian* and *Amphipolitan* Troops, on the Left. He himſelf, with a Phalanx of Foot, and another of Horſe, ruſhing in among the midſt of them. And indeed, ſo long as they only skirmiſh'd with the Bowmen and Slingers, the Fight ſeem'd

[1] *Freinſhemius* tells us of another Defeat of an Army of *Triballi*, ſome time before; but as none beſides himſelf gives any Hint of ſuch an Overthrow, we may well ſuppoſe him to have been led into that Error by following ſome corrupt Copy of *Arrian*, from whence he borrow'd the whole Story. See his Supplement, *Book* I. *Chap.* II. He has given us a Brace of Prodigies a little before, with their Significations, whereof *Arrian* has made no Mention, undoubtedly becauſe he was not ſo credulous, and therefore thought them not worth his Notice.

doubtful; but as ſoon as the firm Phalanx attack'd them, and the Horſemen begun not only to ſtrike them with their Spears, but trample them under Foot, they betook themſelves to their Heels, and paſſing thro' the Wood, eſcaped to the River. Three thouſand of them were ſlain in this Fight; few were taken alive, the thick Wood contiguous to the River, and the Approach of Night hindering the Chaſe. About eleven of the *Macedonian* Horſe, and forty of their Foot, according to *Ptolemy*'s Account, fell in that Action.

CHAP. III.

ON the third Day after that Battle, *Alexander* came to the River *Iſter*, the moſt conſiderable of all the *European* Streams, both in regard to the Length of its Courſe, and the many warlike Nations thro' whoſe Territories it paſſes, among which the moſt renowned are the *Celtes*, where it has its Riſe. The remoteſt of theſe Nations are the *Quadi* and *Marcomanni*, next the *Jazyges*, a Branch of the *Sauromatæ*, and laſtly, the *Scythians*, whoſe Country terminates the River; where, thro' five vaſt Mouths, it falls into the *Euxine* Sea. Here *Alexander* found ſome long Ships, which had been brought from *Byzantium* thro' the *Euxine* Sea, and thence drawn up the River againſt the Stream: On board which, having embark'd as many Soldiers as they were capable of containing, he ſteer'd directly for the Iſland, to which the *Triballi* and *Thracians* had fled for Shelter. But endeavouring to land his Forces, the Barbarians ruſh'd forwards to oppoſe him; and foraſmuch as his Ships were few, and his Force on board ſmall, the Shores of the Iſland in moſt Places ſteep and rugged, and the River, by being confined in narrow

narrow Banks, fierce and rapid; he drew off his Fleet, and alter'd his Reſolutions, deſigning to attack the [1] *Getæ*, who inhabited the other Side of the River; for he obſerved great Numbers of them to come flocking down to the Shore, and ſtand ready to obſtruct his landing, if he attempted it, (for they were, in all, about four thouſand Horſe, and ten thouſand Foot,) beſides, he had a ſtrong Deſire to paſs the *Iſter* there. He therefore embark'd on board his Ships as great a Force as he could, and at the ſame time order'd the Hides which had been made uſe of as Covers for their Tents, to be fill'd with light buoyant Matter, and all the Boats employ'd on that Part of the River to be ſeiz'd, and brought together. The neighbouring Inhabitants made uſe of a vaſt Number of theſe, partly for their Fiſhery, and partly for Commerce, beſides many for Pyracy. This done, the reſt of the Army was ferry'd over with all the Speed and Secrecy imaginable. The Number of thoſe who then paſs'd the River was about one thouſand five hundred Horſe, and nigh four thouſand Foot.

CHAP. IV.

THEY paſs'd over, by Night, to a Place where the Corn ſtood thick on the oppoſite Shore, that they might be the leſs perceived by the Enemy. The next Morning *Alexander* march'd his Army thro'

[1] The *Getæ* were a conſiderable People of *Sarmatia Europæa*, inhabiting both Sides of the River *Iſter*, near the *Euxine* Sea, whence ſome confound them with the *Dacians*. Their Country comprehends what is at this Day called *Moldavia*, *Wallachia*, and *Tranſilvania*. *Freinſhemius*, with a very little Alteration, has tranſlated this whole Chapter and the next, and inſerted them in his Supplement to *Curtius*. See Suppl. *Chap.* 12.

the

the Corn, having order'd his Soldiers to tranſverſe their Pikes and bow their Bodies, and thus to proceed till they came to an open and uncultivated Place: So long as the Phalanx was ſhelter'd from Sight by the Corn, the Horſe followed; but when they came into a champaign Country, *Alexander* himſelf led them on to the Right Wing, and commanded *Nicanor* to range the Phalanx of Foot on the Left. The *Getæ* were ſo much aſtoniſhed at their unuſual Boldneſs, who in one Night durſt attempt to paſs over the mighty River *Iſter* without a Bridge, that they ſtood not the firſt Shock, the Firmneſs of the Foot, and the violent Aſſaults of the Horſe putting them into Confuſion; whereupon they fled firſt to the City, which was about four Miles diſtant; but when they perceived *Alexander* draw his Foot along the Banks of the River with great Caution, to prevent falling into Ambuſcades, and range his Horſe on the Front, they abandoned the City as untenable, and carrying away as many of their Women and Children as they could, betook themſelves to the Deſarts, at a great Diſtance from the River.

Alexander, in the mean while, enters the City, and gathering up whatever was left by the Inhabitants, delivered the Spoil to *Meleager* and *Philip*, and afterwards levell'd it with the Ground. This done, he offered Sacrifice to *Jupiter* the Preſerver, and to *Hercules*, as alſo to *Iſter*, for affording him a Paſſage ſo ſafe and eaſy; and the ſame Day he brought all his Troops into the Camp. Thither, came Ambaſſadors as well from ſundry free Nations bordering upon the River, as from *Syrmus* King of the *Triballi*, and from the *Celtes*, who inhabit the Country near the *Ionian* Bay; they are a People ſtrong in Body, and of a haughty Spirit. All theſe came with Offers of Friendſhip; and a League was accordingly made and accepted on either Side. *Alexander* then took an Opportunity of asking the *Celtes*, what they dreaded moſt of all Things in the World; imagining, that as the

the Terror of his Name muſt needs have reach'd their Country, and much further, they would have given that, for their Anſwer; but he was widely deceived in his Expectations, for as they lived in a remote Part of the World, difficult of Acceſs, and ſo far from the Courſe of *Alexander's* Expedition, they told him, they were afraid of nothing more than that the Sky ſhould fall upon their Heads. He hearing this, treated them as Friends, rank'd them among the Number of his Allies, and diſmiſs'd the Ambaſſadors, ſaying, that the *Celtes* were an arrogant Nation.

CHAP. V.

THENCE, paſſing thro' the Countries of the [1] *Agrians*, and [2] *Pæonians*, he received Intelligence that *Clytus* the Son of *Bardyles* had revolted from him, and join'd in Confederacy with *Glaucias* King of the [3] *Taulantii*; as alſo that the *Autariatæ* were reſolved to obſtruct his March: For which Reaſons he thought fit to haſten his Departure. But *Langarus* King of the *Agrians* (a ſteady Friend to him, and who had formerly ſent an Ambaſſy to him, during the Life of his Father *Philip*, being then preſent at the Head of his choiceſt and beſt arm'd Pikemen) hearing that *Alexander* was making Inquiry who, or of what Force theſe *Autariatæ* were, aſſured him, that they were able to give him no

[1] The *Agrians* inhabited Part of *Thrace*, nigh Mount *Hæmus*; they paſs'd by ſeveral Names among Authors, (*viz.*) *Agriai*, *Agriani*, *Agrianes*, and *Agrienſes*.

[2] The *Pæonians* were a Nation ſeated Northward from *Macedonia*, near the Fountains of the River *Axius*.

[3] The *Taulantii* inhabited Part of *Illyria*, and the *Autariatæ* another Part thereof.

Diſtur-

Diſturbance, as being leſs inured to Martial Diſcipline than any of their Neighbours; that himſelf would make an Irruption into their Confines, and find them Employment enough. To this *Alexander* aſſenting, he march'd ſuddenly among them, laid their Country waſte, and ſo deterr'd them from attempting any thing. At his Return, he was received with the higheſt Honours, and not only rewarded with choice Preſents, but with the Promiſe of his Siſter *Cyna* for a Wife, at his Return to *Pella*: But the Death of *Langarus*, on a Journey to his own Kingdom, put an End to that Deſign. *Alexander* after this, marching near the River *Erigone*, advanced towards [4] *Pellion*, which City *Clytus* had ſeiz'd, it being the ſtrongeſt in all thoſe Parts. When *Alexander* approached, and had pitched his Tents near the River *Eordaicus*, he determined to batter the Walls the next Day. *Clytus* had encamp'd his Forces upon the adjacent Mountains, which were very high, and covered with thick Woods, determining that if the *Macedonians* aſſaulted the City, they would ruſh upon them on all hands, (for as yet *Glaucias* King of the *Taulantii* had not join'd them.) When *Alexander* drew nigh the City, the Enemy having offered three Boys, three Maids, and as many black Rams for Sacrifice, made a Feint as tho' they would have encounter'd them; but thoſe Mountaineers, however advantagiouſly poſted, ſoon quitting their Stations, retreated into the City, leaving their very Sacrifices behind. When they were thus

[4] *Freinſhemius* in his Supplement calls this City *Pellium*, and ſays, that it is ſeated on the River *Eordaicus*; which is the more to be wonder'd at, becauſe he cites *Arrian* for one of his Authorities; whereas, in reality, neither *Arrian*, nor any other antient Author, ſay any ſuch thing; for by *Arrian*'s Relation it is manifeſt, that when *Alexander* had paſs'd the River *Erigone*, he march'd, the neareſt Way, to the River *Eordaicus*, or *Apſus*, beyond which, he ſays, *Pellion* was ſeated. *Vid. Gronoviana in Arrian. ad locum.* He has from this Place tranſlated *Arrian*, almoſt Word for Word, to the End of the next Chapter.

incloſed

incloſed within their Walls, *Alexander* incamped againſt them, and determined to have ſurrounded them with a Wall, to prevent all Succours; but hearing the next Day that *Glaucias* was upon his March to their Relief with a huge Army, and deſpairing, with the Forces he had, to reduce the Place, becauſe many warlike Troops were there in Garriſon, and many more would come againſt him, ſhould he attempt to ſtorm it: he therefore changed his Reſolution, and ſent *Philotas* with a ſtrong Body of Horſe, which ſerved him as a Guard, to forage in the Enemies Country. *Glaucias* having received Information of his coming, advanced to meet him, and ſeizing on the Paſſes thro' the Mountains, endeavoured to obſtruct his March; which, when *Alexander* came to underſtand, and knowing that the Horſe would be driven to great Streights if the Night ſeized them, he forthwith drew off his Targeteers, Archers, and *Agrians*, and about four hundred Horſe, and haſted to their Aſſiſtance, leaving the reſt to awe the City, leſt if the whole Army had decamp'd, the Beſieged ſhould have iſſued forth, and join'd with *Glaucias*.

Glaucias no ſooner heard of *Alexander*'s Approach, than he abandoned his Poſt between the Mountains, by which means *Philotas* and his Forces returned ſafe into their Camp. Hitherto, both *Clytus* and *Glaucias* had entertained a Notion, that *Alexander* would be embarraſſed among the Hills, where they had poſted great Numbers of their Horſe, as alſo ſeveral Parties of Darters and Slingers, and other arm'd Soldiers, to annoy him; they had alſo reſolved that thoſe who were left in the City ſhould ſally forth upon them as they drew off. Beſides, the Road, along which *Alexander* was obliged to march, was narrow, and woody, and ſo much ſtreighten'd with a River on one Side, and a ſteep and craggy Mountain on the other, that four arm'd Men could hardly walk a-breaſt.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

ALEXANDER, hereupon, having ranged his Army in ſuch a Manner, that the Phalanx of Foot conſiſted of one hundred and twenty in Depth, and the Horſe of two hundred on each Wing, enjoined Silence, that his Commands might be the ſooner received, and accordingly order'd the arm'd Soldiers to advance firſt, with their Spears erect, and upon a Sign given, to reverſe them, and ſometimes to direct them towards the Right, and then to the Left, as Occaſion required. He, in the mean time, alter'd the Phalanx, and rang'd the Wings into various Poſitions: and thus the whole being new modell'd, and reduced into a *Cuneus*, he ruſh'd upon the Enemy, who having long ſtood amazed to ſee with what Order and Expedition every thing was perform'd, withſtood not the firſt Onſet, but ſuddenly quitted their firſt Poſts, upon the Mountains; whereupon, *Alexander* having commanded his Soldiers to ſhout, and ſtrike their Spears upon their Shields, the *Taulantii* were ſo exceedingly terrified with the Noiſe, that they retired into the City in Diſorder. However, he ſtill perceiving a ſmall Number of them poſted upon a Hill, nigh which he was obliged to paſs, ordered his Body Guards, and ſuch of his Friends as were about him, to arm themſelves, and mount their Horſes, and thus attack the Hill; which, when they approached, if the Enemy who poſſeſs'd the Paſs had oppoſed them, half their Number were to have diſmounted and fought among the reſt, as Foot Forces. But the Enemy quitted the Hill upon their Approach, and fled confuſedly thro' the Country. *Alexander* no ſooner made himſelf Maſter of this Poſt, than calling to him about two thouſand of the

the *Agrians* and Archers, he commanded the Targeteers to paſs the River, and the *Macedonian* Cohorts to follow them, with Orders, that as ſoon as they had gain'd the other Shore, they ſhould ſtretch out their Shields, that the Phalanx might make the greater Shew; he himſelf, from that Eminence, all the while obſerving the Enemy's Motions. They ſeeing that Part of the Army had paſs'd over, wheel'd round the Mountains, with a Deſign to attack them on the Rear; but he with his Forces fronting them, fruſtrated their Deſign, and the Phalanx having now paſs'd the River, ſhouted for Joy. The Enemy hereupon perceiving the whole *Macedonian* Force ready to fall upon them, turn'd their Backs and fled. *Alexander* then ſtraight led his *Agrians* and Archers to the River, and attempted to paſs it; but perceiving his Rear in Danger, he order'd his Engines to be placed upon the Banks, to play upon the Enemy with all Sorts of miſſive Weapons, and his Archers, who had juſt then enter'd the River, to gall them with their Arrows as much as they could, out of the Water; but *Glaucias* durſt not come within their Reach: So that the *Macedonians* paſs'd over ſafe, and loſt none of their Number in the River.

Three Days after this, *Alexander* having Notice that *Clytus* and *Glaucias* lay careleſsly incamped, and had neither appointed a ſufficient Watch, nor ſurrounded themſelves with a Ditch, nor Rampart, (as believing that *Alexander* was retired out of Fear) and their Army lay ſtretch'd out at Length, to their Diſadvantage, he privately, under Covert of the Night, with his Targeteers, Archers, and *Agrians*, and *Cœnus*' and *Perdiccas*'s Troops, paſs'd a River in their Way, and order'd the reſt of his Forces to follow. But as ſoon as ever an Opportunity offer'd, without waiting for the Arrival of the reſt, he diſpatch'd his Archers and *Agrians* againſt them, who ruſhing upon them unawares, and aſſaulting the weakeſt

Parts

Parts of their Camp with the greateſt Fury, they kill'd ſome in their Sleep, others unarm'd, and others endeavouring to fly; ſo that many were ſlain, and many Priſoners were taken: Nor did he ceaſe the Purſuit of them till he reach'd the *Taulantian* Mountains. As many of them as eſcaped, fled away without their Arms. *Clytus* firſt fled to the neareſt City, which having ſet on Fire, he haſted to *Glaucias*, who was then in the Country of the *Taulantii*.

CHAP. VII.

DURING theſe Tranſactions, ſome fugitive *Thebans* entring the City by Night, and ſtirr'd up by ſome of the Citizens to endeavour a Change of the Government, ſeiz'd *Amyntas* and *Timolaus*, Prefects of the *Cadmean* Tower, who apprehended no Miſchief, and having dragg'd them thence, put them to Death. Then in a ſet Speech they inſtigated the People to a Revolt from *Alexander*, and, under the old and ſpecious Pretence of Liberty, perſuaded them to attempt to throw off the *Macedonian* Yoke, confidently affirming that *Alexander* was dead in *Illyria*. Such a Report had indeed been ſpread abroad, and gain'd ſome Credit, becauſe he had been long

[1] It is ſtrange that *Freinſhemius* ſhould not rather chuſe to tranſlate *Arrian* literally, in this Place, (which would have been a ſafe Way) than run the riſque of blundering, by paraphraſing upon his Words, and pretending to clear up his Senſe. *Arrian* had juſt ſaid, that *Alexander* had driven *Clitus* and his Men as far as the *Taulantian* Mountains, which, no doubt, were a good way from the City, and yet he will have it that the City here ſet on Fire, muſt be the ſame *Pellium* from whence they fled—— So that they had run a vaſt Way, and never ſtirr'd a Foot—— And not only ſo, but he adds, that *Alexander* ſet forth from *Pellium*, and in ſeven Days arrived at *Pellene*, a City of *Theſſaly*; whereas *Arrian* ſays no ſuch thing. *Vide Gronov. ad locum.*

abſent,

abſent, and no News had come from him. Wherefore it happen'd in this, as in moſt other Caſes, where no certain Intelligence could be had, every one contrived, and believed what pleaſed him beſt. *Alexander* being acquainted with this Commotion, thought it was not to be ſlighted, as well becauſe he had a long time ſuſpected the Fidelity of the *Athenians*, as that he deem'd the *Theban* Audacity a Matter of no ſmall Conſequence, if the *Lacedæmonians*, who were already averſe to him, and others of the *Peloponneſians* and *Ætolians*, equally deſirous of Novelty, ſhould join themſelves to the revolted *Thebans*. Having therefore paſſed by *Eordæa*, and *Elymiotis*, and the rocky Country of *Stymphæa* and *Paryæa* with his Army, on the ſeventh Day he arrived at *Pellene*, a City of *Theſſaly*, and marching thence, on the ſixth Day after enter'd *Bœotia*; and ſo little did the *Thebans* dream of his Approach, that he was at *Oncheſtus*, with his whole Army, before they receiv'd the News of his paſſing the Streights. And even then, the Authors of the Sedition affirmed, that that muſt be an Army newly raiſed in *Macedonia*, by *Antipater*, and that *Alexander* was dead. Nay, when ſome aſſerted, that *Alexander* was at hand, in Perſon, they ſtill perſiſted in their Obſtinacy, and ſaid, it muſt be another *Alexander*, the Son of *Aeropus*. However, he moved from *Oncheſtus*, and approached the Temple of *Iolaus* the next Day, where he made a Halt, that the *Thebans*, repenting their Raſhneſs, might have Time to ſend Embaſſadors to him. But ſo far were they from ſhewing any Signs of Remorſe, that a Party of Horſe and light-arm'd Foot ſuddenly iſſued out of the City, and aſſaulting their Out-Guards, ſlew ſome of the *Macedonians* with their Darts. *Alexander* hereupon ordered a Party of his light-arm'd Men and Archers againſt them, who, in a ſhort time, drove them back, tho' they were ready to have enter'd the Camp. The next Day he ad-

vanced with his Army towards the Gate which leads to *Eleutheræ* and *Attica*, yet ſtill he forbore to aſſault the Walls, and therefore pitched his Tents near the *Cadmæan* Tower, that he might be at hand to aſſiſt the *Macedonians* in Garriſon there; for the *Thebans* had ſurrounded that Tower with a double Wall, as well to hinder their receiving Succours from abroad, as to prevent their Excurſions, and keep them from joining with their Enemies. However, *Alexander*, who had much rather have made up the Matter peaceably, than have had the Citizens drawn in to their Ruin, lay ſtill in his Camp, near the *Cadmæan* Tower. In the mean time, ſome of the Citizens, who had the Welfare of the State at Heart, propoſed to go out to *Alexander*, and intreat his Pardon for this Revolt of the Multitude. But, on the other hand, the Exiles, and Authors of the Sedition, deſpairing of Mercy for themſelves, as alſo ſome of the *Bœotian* Nobility, uſed all imaginable Arguments to incite the Populace to War. However, all this did not provoke *Alexander* to lay cloſe Siege to the City.

CHAP. VIII.

HOWEVER [1], *Ptolemy* tells us, that *Perdiccas*, Captain of an advanced Guard, who with his Forces was poſted not far from the Town Wall,

[1] This Chapter, *Freinſhemius* has tranſlated throughout, and only interſpers'd ſome Stories out of *Diodorus*, *Pauſanias*, *Plutarch*, &c. moſt of which are not much to his Purpoſe. The Truth is, he was more diligent in collecting Materials, than judicious in chuſing; for which Reaſon he has heap'd together a vaſt Quantity of all gatherings, and ſeldom gives his Readers Satisfaction as to the Truth or Probability of any of them.

gave

gave the firſt Attack upon the Wall, without waiting for *Alexander*'s Orders, and making a Breach, rush'd ſuddenly forwards upon the *Theban* Garriſon. He was ſeconded by *Amyntas* the Son of *Andromenes*, another Captain, who no ſooner ſaw him enter the City, but he followed with his Forces. *Alexander* now perceiving a Neceſſity of fighting, to prevent his Friends being ſurrounded and cut off, chang'd his former Reſolution, and led on the reſt of the Troops the ſame Way, commanding the *Agrians* and Archers to enter by the Breach, but the Targeteers and others to remain without. *Perdiccas* puſhing forward to win the inner Wall, was ſtruck with a Dart, and born away into the Camp, grievouſly wounded; neither did he recover his Strength in a long Time. However, the Troops which entered with him, aſſiſted by the Archers, purſued the Enemy as far as the Street leading to the Temple of *Hercules*, where the Citizens recovering themſelves from their Fright, and reaſſuming their Courage, raiſed a Shout, which ſtriking a Fear among the Purſuers, they beat them back, and put them to Flight. There *Eurybotas* Captain of the *Cretan* Archers fell, with about ſeventy of his Men; the reſt eſcaping to the *Macedonian* Brigades of Horſe and Targeteers, which were poſted without the Walls. *Alexander* beholding the Flight of his Soldiers, and the confuſed and diſorderly Purſuit of the *Thebans*, fell upon them afreſh with a choice Body, and drove them back into the City; and ſo great was their Fear and Terror in their Flight, that they neglected to ſhut their Gates, and, ſo the Conquerors enter'd with the Conquered; for that Part of the Walls, by reaſon of the numerous Guards elſewhere, was without Defence. When they came to the *Cadmæan* Tower, the Garriſon of that Fort ruſh'd ſuddenly forth, and joining with the *Macedonians*, made a great Slaughter of the *Thebans* as far as *Amphion*'s Temple: other Parties purſued them into the *Forum.*

rum. A few of the Citizens made a Stand near the Temple of *Amphion*; but perceiving their Caſe deſperate, and that *Alexander* with his Troops preſs'd hard upon them, as alſo that their Horſe were diſpers'd about the Country, reſolved to conſult their own Safety: And now the *Macedonians* themſelves were not more implacable, than the *Phocæans*, *Platæans*, and the reſt of the *Bœotians*; for tho' the Citizens made no further Reſiſtance, they were ſlain without Mercy; and now neither private Houſes nor Temples were regarded, nor Sex nor Age ſpared in that general Deſtruction.

CHAP. IX.

THE [1] Ruin of ſo great a City, ſo ſuddenly brought about, and ſo contrary to the Expectation of the Victors, as well as the Vanquiſhed, ſtruck no ſmall Terror into all the other States of *Greece*; for the *Athenian* Overthrow in *Sicily*, tho' in regard of the Number of the Slain, it brought no leſs Calamity to the City, yet becauſe the Army was routed far from home, and that it was compoſed rather of Auxiliaries than Natives, and becauſe their City itſelf ſtood untouch'd, and afterwards defended itſelf gallantly againſt the *Lacedæmonians* and their

[1] *Freinſhemius* in his Supplement to *Curtius*, *Book* I. *Chap.* 13. aſſures us, that *Thebes* was beſieged and taken by Storm, the ſame Day, and quotes this Paſſage of *Arrian* for his Authority. He has indeed abridged *Arrian* both before and after that Paſſage; but neither *Arrian*, nor any other Author ſay ſo; and conſidering the Circumſtances of the Story, it is very unlikely it ſhould be true. That it was taken at the firſt time of making a general Storm, may paſs for probable; but that *Alexander* lay no longer than one Day encamp'd before it, will hardly be credited, without better Authority.

Confe-

Confederates, who vigorouſly aſſaulted it, was leſs dreadful to the *Athenians* themſelves, and leſs ſurprizing to the reſt of the *Grecian* States. Again, that other *Athenian* Overthrow by Sea, near the Mouth of the River *Ægis*, was no ways comparable to this, in its Conſequences; for there, the City received no other Damage beſides the Demolition of her Walls, the Loſs of the greateſt Part of her Fleet, and a ſmall Diminution of her Power: For her antient Form of Government, as well as her antient Liberties, ſhe ſtill retained, and, after ſome Time, regained her Strength to ſuch a Degree as to rebuild her Walls, repair her Loſſes, recover her Dominion of the Seas; and not only ſo, but to reſcue the *Lacedæmonians*, (who had long diſputed the Sovereignty with them, and had well nigh conquered their City,) from the moſt imminent Danger. That Blow given the *Lacedæmonians* at *Leuctra* and *Mantinea* was rather ſhocking by reaſon of its Suddenneſs, than becauſe of the Multitudes of the Slain; and that other which they received by the *Bœotians* and *Arcadians*, under the Conduct of *Epaminondas*, wrought greater Aſtoniſhment by the ſtrangeneſs of the Sight, than the greatneſs of the Loſs, both to the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates. The ſacking of the City *Platæa*, by reaſon of the ſmall Numbers there ſlain, (for far the beſt Part of the Citizens had before removed to *Athens*) was leſs calamitous; and the Deſtruction of *Melos* and *Scio*, Sea-port Towns, was rather a Diſgrace to the Victors, than a Terror to the *Grecians*. But this ſudden and ill-concerted Revolt, and their quick and eaſy Overthrow, the cruel Slaughter made among them, by thoſe of the ſame Stock and Nation, whom old Grudges had render'd remorſeleſs; and the ſignal Overthrow of one of the moſt powerful and warlike Cities of *Greece*, may with the greateſt Juſtice be referr'd to the Effects of the Divine Vengeance upon them, for their de-

ſerting the *Greeks* in the *Median* War, for falling upon the *Platæans*, contrary to the moſt ſolemn Treaties, and utterly ſpoiling their City; for putting the *Lacedæmonian* Captives to Death, againſt the *Grecian* Cuſtom, and laying the Country waſte where the *Greeks* encamp'd againſt the *Medes*, and thereby endangering the Liberties of all *Greece*; and laſtly, for giving their Suffrage againſt the *Athenians*, when the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates conſulted about the ſacking of their City. They are reported to have been forewarn'd of this great and terrible Overthrow of their City, by ſundry Prodigies from Heaven, which they all along diſregarded, till afterwards the Events recalling them to their Remembrance, they were forced to own them fulfilled. The auxiliary Forces, to whom *Alexander* had given the Spoils of the City, were placed as a Garriſon in the *Cadmæan* Tower; but the City itſelf was levell'd with the Ground. The Lands, ſaving ſuch as were ſet apart to ſacred Uſes, were ſhared among the Soldiers. The Men and Women who remained after the general Slaughter, (excepting ſuch only of either Sex who were Prieſts, or had privately recommended themſelves to him, or his Father *Philip*, or ſome of the *Macedonians*, by ſome ſignal Service) were ordered to be ſold. Nevertheleſs, the Houſe of [2] *Pindar* the Poet, and thoſe of his Relations, were ſaved, for the Reverence which *Alexander* bore him. *Orchomenes* and *Platæa* were

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[2] *Dion Chryſoſtom* gives another Reaſon why *Alexander* ſaved *Pindar*'s Houſe, when he deſtroy'd the reſt of the City: He tells us indeed, that he expreſs'd a high Reſpect for *Pindar*'s Writings in general, and made it one of his chief Pleaſures to read them. But this Piece of Generoſity had a Foundation nearer home; for it ſeems *Pindar* had celebrated one of *Alexander*'s Family and Name.

The Ruins of *Pindar*'s Houſe were to be ſeen at *Thebes* in *Pauſanias*'s Time, who lived under *Antoninus* the Philoſopher. See *Kennet*'s Lives of the *Greek* Poets.

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then reſtored by *Alexander*'s Followers, and their Walls rebuilt.

CHAP. X.

THE News of the *Theban* Overthrow was no ſooner carried to the reſt of *Greece*, than the *Arcadians* pronounced Sentence of Death againſt all ſuch of their Citizens as had aided the *Thebans* either with Men or Council. The *Eleans* reſtored their Exiles, becauſe they were *Alexander*'s Friends. The Cities of *Ætolia*, ſeverally, ſent Embaſſadors to him, craving Pardon, becauſe of a Report which had been ſpread abroad, as if they had deſigned a Revolt as well as the *Thebans*. But the *Athenians*, who were buſy with their Celebration of the grand Myſteries, at the very Time when ſome of the *Thebans* arrived, left off their Rites, in a great Conſternation, and conveyed their Inſtruments of Sacrifice out of the Field into the City, where, calling a Council; by the Advice of *Demades*, they elected ten Embaſſadors from among the Citizens, to ſend to *Alexander*, ſuch as they judged would be moſt acceptable to him. Theſe ſignified to him, tho' ſomewhat unſeaſonably, the publick Joy of the *Athenians* for his ſafe Return from among the *Triballi* and *Illyrians*, and for his Chaſtiſement of the ſeditious *Thebans*. *Alexander* diſmiſs'd their Embaſſadors with a favourable Anſwer, as he had done the reſt; but wrote an Epiſtle to the *Athenians*, wherein he required, that *Demoſthenes*, *Lycurgus*, *Hyperides*, *Polyeuctus*, *Charetes*, *Charidemus*, *Ephialtes*, *Diotemus*, and *Merocles* ſhould be ſurrender'd up to him, alledging that they were the Authors of the Action at *Chæronea*, and of all the Miſchiefs which happened after that Time, either to his Father *Philip*, or himſelf

ſelf after *Philip*'s Deceaſe, and the *Thebans* themſelves were not more ſtudious after a Change of Government than they, nor more eager for a Revolt. The *Athenians*, without complying with his Requeſt, ſent other Embaſſadors, who beſought him to turn away his Wrath from thoſe Citizens of theirs, whom he had threaten'd. This Embaſſy he hearken'd to, and pardoned them: And this he did, either out of Reverence to the City, or an earneſt Deſire of paſſing over into *Aſia*, being willing to leave every thing quiet behind him in *Greece*. *Charidemus* alone, of all thoſe whom he had required, and were not delivered up, he ordered into Baniſhment, who thereupon fled into *Aſia* to King *Darius*.

CHAP. XI.

THESE Affairs thus concluded, he returned into *Macedonia*, where he [1] offered Sacrifices to *Jupiter Olympius*, according to an Inſtitution of *Archelaus*, and appointed the Celebration of the *Olympick* Games among the *Ægæ*. Some ſay, he alſo performed Sports in Honour of the Muſes. About this Time came News, that the Statue of

[1] *Juſtin, lib.* xi. *cap.* 5. tells us, that *Alexander*, before he undertook this Expedition into *Perſia*, put all the Relations of his Step-mother *Eurydice* to Death, whom his Father *Philip* had before exalted to Honours, and Places of Command; and that he even ſpared not ſuch of his own Kindred as he deem'd able to ſtir up any Sedition in his Abſence. But as neither *Diodorus*, *Arrian*, nor *Plutarch* mention any ſuch Slaughter, we may, with ſome Reaſon, ſuſpect *Juſtin*'s Veracity, eſpecially ſeeing he has hardly one ſingle Page throughout this whole Story, free from ſome conſiderable Error.

Orpheus

Orpheus [2] the Son of *OEagrus* the *Thracian*, on Mount *Pieria*, ſweated exceedingly: Various were the Opinions of the Augurs concerning this Prodigy; but at laſt *Ariſtander* the *Telmiſſean*, a celebrated Sooth-ſayer, bid *Alexander* take Courage, for it foretold that the Poets of all ſorts ſhould exert themſelves to the utmoſt, in ſinging and deſcribing his great Actions. After this, in the beginning of the Spring, he moved towards the *Helleſpont*, (leaving the Adminiſtration of the Affairs of *Greece* in *Antipater*'s Hands,) and carried an Army of Foot, conſiſting of Archers and light-arm'd Soldiers, about [3] Thirty thouſand, and a little above Five thouſand Horſe. He firſt directed his March to *Amphipolis*, by Way of the Lake *Cercynites*, and thence to the Mouths of the River *Strymon*, which having croſs'd, he paſs'd by Mount *Pangæa*, along the Road lead-

[2] Theſe Accounts of Prodigies are common among all Heathen Hiſtorians, inſomuch that there is hardly any extraordinary Event, recorded by Antiquity, without having one or two of them to foretell it. The *Greeks* were undoubtedly very ſuperſtitious; and ſuch Stories were either artfully contrived by the Prieſts, to animate the Soldiery, or by Rhetoricians, Sycophants, and Hiſtorians, in after-times, to embelliſh their Works, which they imagined would be dry and jejune without them. *Curtius* is full of them, and dwells upon them with Pleaſure, to ſhew his Eloquence; and *Freinſhemius* does the ſame, in Imitation of his Maſter *Curtius*. *Arrian* mentions them but ſeldom, and generally gives us a Caveat concerning them, to put us in Mind that we ought not to ſacrifice our Reaſon by believing Incredibilities, let who will be the Contrivers.

[3] *Juſtin, lib.* xi. *cap.* 6. tells us, his Army conſiſted of Thirty-two thouſand Foot, and Four thouſand five hundred Horſe, and that he had One hundred eighty-two Ships. *Freinſhemius*, relying upon *Arrian*, acquaints us, that of thoſe Thirty thouſand Foot, Thirteen thouſand were *Macedonians*, Five thouſand were Mercenaries, and the reſt were raiſed out of the Confederated States of *Greece*: That the *Triballi*, *Thracians*, and *Illyrians* raiſed Five thouſand, and the *Agrians* One thouſand. Of the Five thouſand Horſe he ſays, the *Macedonians* raiſed One thouſand eight hundred, the *Theſſalians* the like Number, and the reſt of the States of *Greece* Six hundred. Beſides which, *Caſſander* brought him Ninety *Thracian* and *Paonian* Horſe, for the forlorn Hope. *Vid. Diod. Sicul. lib.* xvii. *p.* 400.

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ing to *Abdera* and *Maronea*, maritime Cities of *Greece*. Thence he marched to the River *Ele*[illegible], which being eaſily forded, he proceeded through the Country of *Pætis* to the River *Melas*, and thence, on the twentieth Day after his Departure from *Macedon*, he arrived at *Seſtos*, whence marching to *Eleus*, he ſacrificed upon the Tomb of *Proteſilaus*, becauſe He, of all the *Greeks* who accompanied *Agamemnon* to the Siege of *Troy*, ſet his Foot firſt on the *Aſiatic* Shore. The Deſign of this Sacrifice was, that his Deſcent into *Aſia* might be more ſucceſsful to him, than the former was to *Proteſilaus*. Then having committed to *Parmenio* the Care of conveying the greateſt Part both of the Horſe and Foot from *Seſtos* to *Abydos*, they were accordingly tranſported in One hundred and ſixty *Trireme* Gallies, beſides many other Veſſels of Burden. Several Authors report, that *Alexander* ſailed from *Eleus*, another Port in *Greece*, himſelf commanding the Flag-Ship; and alſo, that when he was in the Middle of the *Helleſpont*, he offered a Bull to *Neptune*, and the *Nereids*; and pour'd forth a Libation into the Sea from a Golden Cup. He is moreover ſaid firſt of all to have ſtept on Shore in *Aſia* compleatly arm'd, and to have erected Altars to *Jupiter Deſcenſor*, and to *Pallas*, and *Hercules*. When he came to [4] *Illium*, he ſacrificed to *Pallas Illiaca*, and having

[4] *Strabo* aſſures us, that in *Alexander*'s Days, *Illium* was no better than a Village, wherein was a Temple of *Pallas*, ſmall, and inconſiderable; but that when he returned thither, after the Battle of *Granicus*, he enrich'd the Temple with Gifts, and ordered the Village to be called a City, appointing Overſeers to adorn it with ſpacious Buildings, and declared it free. Afterwards, when he had ſubdued the *Perſians*, he promiſed, in the Letters which he wrote concerning it, that he would enlarge its Bounds, and erect a magnificent Temple, inſtead of the ſmall one; and beſides, that Himſelf would ſee ſolemn Sports exhibited there. After his Death, *Lyſimachus* undertook the rebuilding of the Temple, and walled the City round; he alſo induced many of the neighbouring People to come

having fix'd the Arms he then wore in her Temple, he took down from thence ſome conſecrated Armour, which had remain'd there from the Time of the *Trojan* War. This Armour, ſome Targeteers were always wont to bear before him, in his Expedition. He is alſo ſaid to have ſacrificed to *Priamus* upon the Altar of *Jupiter Hercius*, that he might thereby avert the Wrath of his *Manes* from the Progeny of [5] *Pyrrhus*, whence he deduced his Pedigree.

CHAP. XII.

WHEN he arrived at *Illium*, [1] *Menetius* the Governor crown'd him with a Crown of Gold; the ſame did *Chares* the *Athenian*, who came for that purpoſe from *Sigæum*; and ſeveral others, as well *Greeks* as *Aſiatics*, followed their Example. He then encircled the Sepulchre of *Achilles* with a Garland, (as *Hephæſtion* did that of *Patroclus*,) and pronounced him happy, who had ſuch a Herald as *Homer* to perpetuate his Name; and indeed he was deſervedly ſo ſtiled, becauſe that ſingle Accident had raiſed him to the higheſt pitch of human Glory.

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come and inhabit it, and called it *Alexandria*, in Honour of *Alexander*. It afterwards underwent ſundry Changes, and lies now entirely waſte. See *Strabo, lib.* xiii. *p.* 886, & 887. *Ed. Caſaubon.* and *Sandy*'s Travels, *p.* 23.

[5] *Alexander* deduced his Pedigree from *Hercules* by the Father's Side, and from *Achilles* by the Mother's.

[1] Who this *Menetius* was is uncertain; *Arrian* only calls him ὁ ναυαρχήσας, but *Facius* raſhly intitles him *Regiæ claſſis Dux*. If he was Commander of the Fleet, it is a Wonder we never hear a Word of him afterwards, and how *Oneſicritus* came to ſucceed him. But many Things undoubtedly happened, whereof we, at this Diſtance of Time, have no manner of Account remaining. *Vide Gronovian. ad locum.*

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As to his Actions, none had hitherto deſcribed them in a ſuitable Manner, either in Proſe or Verſe, neither had any attempted them in a Lyrick Strain, as the Poets had, heretofore, done thoſe of *Hieron*, *Gelon*, *Theron*, and many more, whoſe Exploits were no ways comparable to his; for which Reaſon his greateſt Acts are leſs known than the leaſt and moſt inconſiderable of many antient Generals. The Expedition of *Cyrus* againſt *Artaxerxes* with Ten thouſand Men, with the Captivity of *Clearchus* and his Followers, and the Return of thoſe Ten thouſand by Way of the Sea-coaſt, under the Conduct of *Xenophon*, are render'd much more illuſtrious by *Xenophon's* Pen, than either *Alexander* or his greateſt Atchievements. *Alexander* never made War under another's Banner, nor had he ever an Occaſion to encounter thoſe who guarded the Coaſt, in his Flight from the King of *Perſia*. And indeed there was never any General, whether *Greek* or *Barbarian*, whoſe Exploits, either in Number or Greatneſs, are fit to ſtand in Competition with his. This was the Reaſon which firſt induced me to attempt this Hiſtory, not deeming myſelf altogether unworthy to tranſmit thoſe mighty Acts of his to Poſterity. But who I am, that thus characterize myſelf, and what is my Name, tho' That be far from obſcure, concerns the Reader but little to know; neither would he be any ways profited by an account of my Family, my City, or what Offices I have born there; let it ſuffice him to know, that an extreme Paſſion for Letters, wherein I have always indulged myſelf from my Youth, has, to me, been inſtead of Family, City, and Magiſtracy all-together: Wherefore I may perhaps be little leſs worthy a Place among the moſt celebrated Authors of *Greece*, than *Alexander* among her moſt famous Heroes.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

ALEXANDER then moved from *Illium* to *Arisbe*, where his whole Army had encamp'd after their paſſing the *Helleſpont*, and leaving *Percotas* and *Lampſacus*, the next Day he arrived at the River *Practius*, which iſſuing out from the Sides of Mount *Ida*, falls into the Sea, between the *Euxine* and the *Helleſpont*. Thence, leaving the City *Coloneæ*, he came to *Hermotus*. He there diſpatch'd a number of Scouts before his Army, under the Command of *Amyntas* the Son of *Arrabæus*, as alſo a Troop of thoſe term'd his Friends from *Apollonia*, under the Conduct of *Socrates* the Son of *Sathon*; and to theſe he added four Companies of Scouts. In this March he diſpatch'd *Panegorus* the Son of *Lycagoras*, one of his Friends, to take Poſſeſſion of the City *Priamus*, which was ſurrendered by the Inhabitants. The *Perſian* Commanders were [1] *Arſames*, *Rheomithres*, *Petenes*, *Niphates*, as alſo *Spithridates* Governor of *Lydia* and *Ionia*, and *Arſites* Preſident of that Part of *Phrygia* which borders on the *Helleſpont*. *Memnon* the *Rhodian* diſſuaded the *Perſians* from offering the *Macedonians* Battle, who were not only ſuperior to them in Foot, but alſo encouraged by the preſence of their King; whereas *Darius* was abſent. He adviſed them rather to trample the Herbage un-

[1] *Freinſhemius*, in his Supplement to *Curtius*, has changed this Gentleman's Name to *Arſanes*; and charges *Aldus*, and all the Copies of *Arrian* with Errors for having it *Arſames*. However, his Reaſon for this Alteration being no more than that the Termination is a little more uſual in *Perſian* Names, I ſhall leave it as I found it, unleſs I had better Authority for an Alteration. See *Gronov. in Arrian.*

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der their Horſes Feet, to burn all the Fruits of the Country, and even to lay the Towns and Villages waſte; by which means, *Alexander* finding himſelf deſtitute of Proviſions and Forage, would be unable to penetrate further. To this *Arſites*, in the ſame Council, is ſaid to have replied, That he would never ſuffer ſo much as one of the Houſes of thoſe he had ſubdued, to be burnt: and this Reſolution was the more ſatisfactory to the *Perſians*, becauſe they then begun to ſuſpect, that *Memnon* endeavoured to protract the War, for the ſake of the Royal Honours he enjoy'd.

CHAP. XIV.

IN the mean while, *Alexander* drew near the River [1] *Granicus* with a choice Army, which having ranged into a double Phalanx, he placed the Horſe on the two Wings, and the Baggage and other Carriages in the Rear. The Scouts, whoſe

[1] *Freinſhemius*, Suppl. *Curt. lib.* ii. *cap.* 5. gives us an Account of a remarkable Prodigy which happened here before this Battle; which may ſerve to convince us whence moſt Stories of Omens had their Riſe: "That the Soldiers Minds might be the better "confirm'd in their Hopes of Victory, ſays he, while the Prieſt "was ſacrificing for a ſafe Paſſage over the River *Granicus*, the "King gave him ſecret Orders to write ſome revers'd Characters, "with a certain Liquor, in the Palm of his Hand, which being "clapp'd upon the reeking Liver, would appear right. The Writ- "ting was to ſignify, that the Gods had decreed the Victory to "*Alexander*." This inſpired the Soldiers with ſuch Courage, that they no longer doubted the Favour of the Gods, and therefore reſolutely ſeized on the Victory, becauſe, by the irreverſible Decrees of Fate, they believed it their own already. See *Frontinus*'s *Stratagem, lib.* i. *cap.* 11.—— And indeed, when the Prieſt and the General club for a Miracle, it is the leaſt the Soldiers can do to give an implicit Faith to it.

Office

Office was to ſurvey the Enemies Strength, as alſo the Horſemen, who were arm'd with Pikes, and the light-arm'd Soldiers, in Number about Five hundred, were under the Command of *Hegelocus*. He was now not far from the River *Granicus*, when ſome of his Scouts haſted to him, with the utmoſt Expedition, and brought him News that the *Perſians*, with a well appointed Army, lay incamp'd on the other Side; whereupon he drew up his Forces in Battle Array. Then *Parmenio*, approaching him, is ſaid to have ſpoke to this Effect: "It ſeems good, O King, "that we ſhould, at this Time, encamp as near the "Bank of the River as poſſible; for I cannot ſuppoſe "that the Enemy, who are ſo far inferior to us in "Foot, will remain all Night in their preſent Encamp-"ment; which will give an eaſy Paſſage to our Army "to-morrow as ſoon as the Dawn appears; for we "may then paſs over before they can draw up in Or-"der of Battle; whereas we cannot now attempt it, "without manifeſt Hazard. Beſides, we can never "propoſe to convey an Army over a River, when "an Enemy ſtands on the oppoſite Bank, ready to "diſpute the Paſſage; eſpecially, ſeeing the Stream "is deep, and full of Eddies, and the oppoſite Shore "ſteep and rugged; and therefore our Enemies "well-order'd Cavalry will certainly attack us as we "climb the other Bank, and fall upon our Wings, "where they are the moſt expoſed. Such a Blow as "this, at our firſt ſetting out, would not only be "terrible at this Juncture, but a grievous Specimen "of ill Succeſs throughout the whole War." To whom *Alexander* replied, "Theſe Reflections of "yours are certainly juſt, O *Parmenio*: But it "would be a mighty Diſgrace to us, who have ſo "eaſily paſs'd the *Helleſpont*, to be ſtopt here by "this Brook, (for ſo, by way of Scorn, he term'd "the River *Granicus*) and hindered from reaching "the other Shore. This, I am perſuaded, would "reflect upon the Glory of the *Macedonians*, and

"my

" my Readineſs in encountering Dangers; and be-
" ſides, the *Perſians* will ſurely ſtile themſelves our
" Equals in War, unleſs we, in this firſt Conflict, do
" ſomething worthy the Terror which we bear.

CHAP. XV.

HAVING thus ſpoke, he appointed *Parmenio* over the Left Wing, and in the Right, where himſelf preſided, was *Philotas* the Son of *Parmenio*, with the Royal Cohort, and the Archers and *Agrians*, as alſo *Amyntas* the Son of *Arabæus*, with the Pikemen, the *Pæonians*, and *Socrates*'s Cohort. Next theſe were the Royal Targeteers, commanded by *Nicanor*, another of *Parmenio*'s Sons. Then the Battalion of *Perdiccas* the Son of *Orontes*; and after theſe, that of *Cœnus* the Son of *Polemocrates*. Next, thoſe of *Craterus* the Son of *Alexander*, and *Amyntas* the Son of *Andromenes*. And laſt of all, the Forces headed by *Philip* the Son of *Amyntas*. The firſt on the Left Wing, were the *Theſſalian* Horſe, commanded by *Calas* the Son of *Harpalus*: Then, a Troop of Auxiliaries led on by *Philip* the Son of *Menelaus*. Next to theſe, the *Thracians*, headed by *Agathon*. After theſe, were the Foot, and the Squadrons of *Craterus*, *Meleager*, and *Philip*, reaching quite to the Centre of the Army. The *Perſian* Forces conſiſted of about Twenty thouſand Horſe, and near the ſame Number of mercenary Troops of Foot. Their Horſe ſtood ſtretch'd out in a long Range, on the Bank of the River, and the Foot behind them. But when they beheld *Alexander* himſelf facing their Left Wing, (for he was eaſily known, as well by the brightneſs of his Armour, as by the fierceneſs of the Countenances of his Body Guards) they there placed their Horſe thicker upon the

the Bank. Both Armies then ſtood, ſome time, fronting each other, and obſerved a profound Silence, as tho' they dreaded the Event. The *Perſians* waited till the *Macedonians* ſhould enter the River, that they might attack them as they came forth; whereupon *Alexander* mounting his Steed, and exhorting thoſe about him to follow his Example, and behave themſelves like Men, he ſent the light Horſe into the River, with the *Pæonians*, and one Troop of Foot, led by *Amyntas* the Son of *Arrabæus*; but a little before this, he had ſent *Socrates*'s Troop the ſame Way, as alſo *Ptolemy* the Son of *Philip*, on whom the whole Charge of the Horſe was devolved that Day. He himſelf led on the Right Wing; and the Trumpets ſounding, and the Soldiers raiſing a loud martial Shout, he enter'd the Ford, leading his Troops a little obliquely down the Current, leſt the Enemy ſhould attack them before they could draw up; for which Reaſon he endeavoured to gain the Shore, that he might encounter them with a well-order'd Body.

CHAP. XVI.

THE *Perſians*, poſted at the Place where *Amyntas* and *Socrates* firſt approach'd the other Side, ply'd them warmly with Darts from their high Stations; and others, where the Shore was flat and level, threw their Javelins into the Water. Never was a more obſtinate Conflict of Horſe known; theſe puſhing forward to gain the Shore, and thoſe endeavouring to obſtruct them. The *Perſians* fought chiefly with barbed Javelins; the *Macedonians* with Spears. The *Macedonians* being far inferior in Numbers, received no ſmall Loſs at the firſt Onſet,

becauſe they were forced to fight in a low ſlippery Place in the River; whereas the *Perſians* were poſted on an Eminence, which they had taken care to line with their beſt Troops of Horſe. There *Memnon's* Sons, and there *Memnon* himſelf fought valiantly; and all the *Macedonians* who firſt attempted to gain the Bank were ſlain, except ſome few who retired to *Alexander*, then in full March towards them. He ſoon approach'd at the Head of the Right Wing, and obſerving the Place where the *Perſian* Officers and their Horſe ſtood thickeſt, there he made his firſt Effort. There was then a dreadful Scene of Blood round the King; and the *Macedonian* Troops, one after another, eaſily gain'd the Shore. Tho' they fought on Horſeback, yet being in the Water, they ſeem'd to fight on Foot; for there the Horſe encounter'd with Horſe, and Man with Man. The *Macedonians* ſtrove to drive the *Perſians* from the Bank, and they endeavour'd to obſtruct the others landing, and to puſh them back into the River. However, the *Macedonians* at laſt gain'd the Advantage, and repuls'd their Enemies, partly by their Strength, and ſuperior Skill in Martial Diſcipline, and partly becauſe they uſed corneil Lances againſt the others Javelins. *Alexander* having broke the Staff of his, demanded another from *Aretes* the Maſter of his Horſe; and when *Aretes* had broke his, he continued to fight with the Shaft which he held in his Hand, till ſhewing it to *Alexander*, he order'd him another. *Demaratus* the *Corinthian*, one of his Friends, reach'd the King his own Spear, which he no ſooner received, but viewing [1] *Mithridates*, Son-in-

[1] *Freinſhemius* has fallen into an Error here, by the Similitude of the two Names, *Mithridates*, and *Spithridates*. *Arrian* expreſsly calls *Mithridates* Son-in-Law to *Darius*, and *Spithridates* Governor of *Lydia*, as if it was done on purpoſe to diſtinguiſh them from each other. Both of them were ſlain in this Battle: The firſt was

in-Law to *Darius*, mounted on a ſtately Horſe at the Head of his Troops, he, with a ſmall Party of his own, met him on Horſeback, and ſtriking him thro' the Mouth, caſt him to the Ground. Then *Rhœſaces*, in the Heat of his Fury, coming againſt *Alexander*, ſtruck at his Head with a Sword, which carrying away Part of his Helmet, gave him a ſlight Wound; but he perceiving it, thruſt his Lance thro' his Breaſtplate into his Body, and kill'd him. And now *Spithridates* coming behind *Alexander*, had already lifted up his Sword to kill him; but *Clitus* the Son of *Dropidas* prevented him, for with one Stroke he diſabled his Arm, whereupon his Sword fell to the Earth.

CHAP. XVII.

IN the mean while, the Horſe continued paſſing the River, as faſt as they could, and join'd the Army; ſo that the *Perſians* were every where gall'd by their Lances, and borne down by them: They alſo ſuſtain'd no ſmall Damage by the light-arm'd Foot, who fought among the Horſe. They begun firſt to give Way where *Alexander* fought in Perſon, ſoon after which, the main Body retired, and both Wings were overpower'd and put to Flight; ſo that above a Thouſand *Perſian* Horſe were ſlain by the

was run thro' the Mouth with a Lance; the ſecond had his Sword-Arm almoſt cut off, as he was going to ſtrike *Alexander*, and was afterwards run thro' the Body. However, notwithſtanding all this, *Freinſhemius* thinks them but one Perſon. He was undoubtedly a good Chriſtian, and thought it unreaſonable that a Man ſhould be kill'd twice, meerly becauſe he had the Misfortune to go by two Names. *Vide Freinſhem. in Curt. lib.* ii. *cap.* 5.

Purſuers. Yet did not *Alexander* follow them far from the Field, but faced about to attack the foreign mercenary Troops, whoſe whole Body ſtill ſtood firm and entire, as at firſt; but who ſeem'd rather ſtunn'd with the unexpected Event, than fix'd by any ſteady Reſolution; for the Phalanx of Foot, and the whole Body of Horſe, ruſhing violently upon them, they were all ſlain, not ſo much as one of their whole Number eſcaping, unleſs ſuch as might conceal themſelves among the Heaps of dead Bodies, and about Two thouſand who ſurrender'd themſelves Priſoners. Among the *Perſian* Commanders who fell that Day, were *Niphates*, [1] *Petenes*, *Spithridates* Governor of *Lydia*, [2] *Mythrobuzanes* Preſident of *Cappadocia*, *Mithridates* Son-in-Law to *Darius*, *Arbupales* Son to *Darius Artaxerxes*, *Pharnaces* Brother to the Wife of *Darius*, and *Omares* Captain of the Band of Mercenaries. *Arſites* fled from the Battle, and eſcaped into *Phrygia*, where he is ſaid to have ſlain himſelf, becauſe he was deem'd the Author of that great Overthrow. Of the Royal Cohort of the *Macedonians*, about Twenty-five fell at the firſt Onſet, whoſe Statues, caſt in Braſs by *Lycippus*, at the Command of *Alexander*, were placed in the City *Dio*. The ſame Artiſt alſo caſt the Statue of *Alexander* himſelf, in Braſs: For he was ſu-

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[1] He is called *Petanes* by *Freinſhemius* in his Supplement, for what Reaſon I know not, ſince all the Editions of *Arrian* which I have ſeen, have it Πετηνης. *Vide Freinſh. ad Curt. lib.* ii. *cap.* 5.

[2] *Gronovius* is of Opinion, that neither *Mythrobuzanes* nor *Arbupales* are real *Perſian* Names, and imagines all the Copies of *Arrian* to be corrupt. He has indeed been ſo civil as to ſubſtitute *Artoibares* inſtead of *Arbupales*, but has left us to gueſs for our ſelves as to the latter. However, as his *Artoibares* is but conjectural, and all the Copies of *Arrian*, according to his own Confeſſion, run againſt him; I would adviſe the two Gentlemen, by all means, to reſt contented with their preſent Names, till ſome learned Critick can aſſign them others, from ſome Authority better than Conjecture. *Vide Gronov. ad Arrian. cap.* xvii.

perior

perior to all others of his Profeſſion. Of the other Troops of Horſe, nigh Seventy were ſlain; and of the Foot Forces about Thirty; all whom *Alexander* order'd to be interr'd the next Day, and with them their Arms, and warlike Accoutrements. To their Parents and Children alſo, in whatever City they were ſettled, he granted the Freedom of the Place, and wholly releaſed them and their Goods, from all Exactions, publick or private. His Care of the Wounded was no leſs; for he went about, and viſited each of them, ſaw their Wounds, and examined how they received them, allowing each the free Liberty of being the Herald of his own Praiſe. He alſo took Care to bury the *Perſian* Captains, and the mercenary *Greeks*, who ſerved the *Perſians* as Auxiliaries, and fell in that Day's Action. But as many of thoſe Mercenaries as he took alive, he ſent, in Chains, to Priſon in *Macedonia*; becauſe they, being *Greeks*, had borne Arms for Barbarians againſt their Country, in Oppoſition to the Laws of *Greece*. To *Athens* he ſent Three hundred Suits of *Perſian* Armour, to be hung up in the Temple of *Pallas* there, by way of Acknowledgment, and order'd an Inſcription to be fix'd over them, to this Effect: "*Alexander* the Son of *Philip*, and all the "*Greeks*, except the *Lacedæmonians*, have devoted "theſe Spoils, taken from the Barbarians inhabiting *Aſia*."

CHAP. XVIII.

CALAS was then conſtituted Lieutenant of that Province inſtead of *Arſites*, and the ſame Tribute order'd to be paid, as had been before paid to *Darius*. And as many of the Barbarians as would deſcend from the Mountains, where they lay hid, and

ſurrender themſelves, were ſuffered to return to their Habitations. The *Zelitæ* he pardoned, becauſe he knew they were forced into the Barbarian Service. He then diſpatch'd *Parmenio* to take *Daſcylium*, which he eaſily performed, the Garriſon having quitted it and fled. He himſelf march'd toward *Sardis*, and when he was about ſeventy Stadia diſtant from that City, he was met by *Mythrenes*, Governor of the Garriſon in the Caſtle, accompanied by the chief Citizens; theſe ſurrendering the City into his Hands, and *Mythrenes* the Caſtle, with the Royal Treaſures therein contain'd. He then proceeded to the River *Hermus*, about twenty Stadia diſtant from *Sardis*, where he encamp'd; and from whence he diſpatch'd *Amyntas* the Son of *Andromenes* to *Sardis*, to take the Government of the Caſtle, and carrying *Mythrenes* with him, treated him honourably. To the *Sardians*, and other *Lydians*, he granted the Privilege of being governed by their antient Laws. He then entered the Caſtle, which was garriſon'd by *Perſians*, and ſeem'd to him well fortify'd. It was ſeated on a high Rock, which was every where very ſteep, and ſurrounded with a triple Wall. He therefore purpoſed to erect a Temple on the Top of that Eminence, and therein to dedicate an Altar to *Jupiter Olympius*; but while he was yet in Suſpence, which part of the Caſtle was moſt commodious for that Purpoſe, a dreadful Tempeſt aroſe on a ſudden, huge Claps of Thunder were heard, and a violent Storm fell on that part where the royal Palace of the *Lydian* Kings had ſtood. Thus the God ſeem'd to point out the place where the Temple ſhould be erected; and it was order'd to be built accordingly. The Government of this Caſtle, he committed into the Hands of *Pauſanias*, one of his Friends; but the Collection of Tributes and Impoſts to *Nicias*. *Aſander* the Son of *Philotas* was conſtituted Prefect of *Lydia*, and the reſt of the Provinces of *Spithridates*; and had ſuch a Number of

of Horſe and light-arm'd Foot allowed him, as were judg'd neceſſary. *Calas*, and *Alexander* the Son of *Aeropus*, were diſpatch'd into the Province govern'd by *Memnon*, and with them were the *Peloponneſians*, and moſt of the Royal Cohort, except the *Argives*, who had been left to garriſon the Caſtle of *Sardis*. In the mean while, the Fame of this Battle being every where ſpread abroad, the mercenary Troops which lay in Garriſon at *Epheſus*, having ſeiz'd two *Trireme* Gallies, fled, and with them *Amyntas* the Son of *Antiochus*, who had before withdrawn himſelf from *Alexander* in *Macedonia*, not becauſe of any Injury received, but out of a certain Hatred, he had conceived againſt him, as deeming himſelf too great to pay him any Homage. On the fourth Day after the Battle, *Alexander* coming to *Epheſus*, order'd all their Exiles to be recall'd, and having aboliſhed the Oligarchy thereof, eſtabliſhed a Popular Government there. The Tributes which he took from the Barbarians, he order'd to be paid to [1] *Diana*, as aforetime. The Citizens hereupon caſting off all Fear of their former Rulers, conſpired to ſlay thoſe who had brought *Memnon* into the City, as alſo thoſe who had robb'd the Temple of *Diana*, and overthrown the Statue of *Philip* therein, and thoſe who had defaced the Sepulchre of *Heropythus*, (by whom the City was formerly freed from Tyranny) in the *Forum*: And accordingly, having ſeiz'd *Syrphaces*, and his Son *Phlegon*, with his Brother's Children, who had

[1] That the Temple of *Diana* was ſet on fire by *Heroſtratus*, more than twenty Years before this Time, namely, on the Night that *Alexander* was born, is a known Story. It was then rebuilding with great Coſt and Magnificence; and the King, to encourage the *Epheſians* to proceed vigorouſly in the Work, commanded, that the Tribute which they had hitherto paid the *Perſians*, and which had been formerly dedicated to *Diana*, ſhould be reſtored towards the finiſhing this Fabrick. See this at large in *Strabo, lib.* xiv. *p.* 949. *Edit. Caſaub.*

fled into the Temple, they drew them forth and ſtoned them. *Alexander* hereupon ſtrictly forbad all Inquiry after the reſt; for he was afraid, that if that Liberty was once given to the People, the Guilty and Innocent, either thro' Envy or Avarice, would be alike Sufferers: And he gain'd himſelf a vaſt Credit among the *Epheſians* by this very Action.

CHAP. XIX.

ABOUT this Time, arrived Ambaſſadors from *Magneſia* and the *Tralli*, proffering to ſurrender their Cities to *Alexander*, whither he diſpatch'd *Parmenio*, with Two thouſand five hundred mercenary Foot, and as many *Macedonians*, beſides Two hundred of the Royal Cohort of Horſe. He alſo ſent *Alcimalus* the Son of *Agathocles*, with the like Force, to reduce thoſe Cities of *Æolia* and *Ionia*, which the Barbarians yet held. He moreover iſſued out his Royal Mandate, That the Ariſtocracy, or Government of the Nobility, ſhould be every where aboliſhed, and the Democracy, or Popular State, ſet up: That all their own Country Laws ſhould be every where reſtored; and that the Tributes which had been exacted by the Barbarians, ſhould be remitted. While he continued at *Epheſus*, he ſacrificed to *Diana*, and led his whole Army in Proceſſion, with all their Military Accoutrements, in Honour of that Goddeſs. Then, with the Remainder of his Foot, the Archers, and *Agrians*, the *Thracian* Horſe, the Royal Cohort, and three other Troops, he march'd the next Day towards *Miletus*. At his firſt Approach, the outward City (as it is call'd) ſurrender'd to him, being without a Garriſon: Wherefore encamping there, he reſolved to ſurround the inner

inner City with a Wall; for *Hegiſtratus*, on whom *Darius* had conferr'd the Government of the *Mileſians*, had, before this Time, wrote Letters to him concerning the Surrender; but receiving Intelligence, that the *Perſian* Army was not far off, he took Courage, and reſolved to keep the City for them. But *Nicanor*, Admiral of the *Grecian* Fleet, anticipating the *Perſians*, arrived there three Days before them, and with an Hundred and ſixty Ships, took the Haven on the Iſland *Lade*, near *Miletus*. The *Perſian* Fleet coming too late, and their Commanders finding *Lade* already poſſeſs'd by *Nicanor*, withdrew from thence, and came to an Anchor under Mount *Mycale*. Neither did *Alexander* defend that Iſland only by the Ships in the Haven; but he tranſported Four thouſand *Thracians*, and other foreign Soldiers thither. The Barbarian Fleet conſiſted of about Four hundred Ships. *Parmenio* adviſed *Alexander* to a Naval Engagement, aſſuring him, that the *Greeks* would be Victors at Sea, becauſe a lucky [1] Omen had juſt happen'd: An Eagle being ſeen upon the Shore, from one of the Ships of his Navy. He alſo added, that if they overcame their Enemies, they

[1] I have already taken notice, that ſome Omen or other always preceded a great Action. Here, an Eagle is ſeen on Shore, from one of their Ships at Sea. This might be true, and nothing at all extraordinary in it. However, it muſt be a Prodigy, and they were to have the Interpretation of it. *Parmenio* interpreted it his Way; but that not pleaſing *Alexander*, he was reſolved to have it his own. The whole was, undoubtedly, a Contrivance to animate the Soldiery, which they omitted no Opportunities of doing. Be it as it will, this may ſerve to ſhew us that they placed no real Confidence in their Omens, if they ſuppoſed their Enemies Strength much ſuperior to their own. *Parmenio* would hazard a Sea-Fight, becauſe an Eagle was ſeen from the Sea. No, ſays *Alexander*, we will rather fight by Land, becauſe the Eagle was ſeen on Shore. *Alexander* knew the Enemies Strength by Sea, and durſt not engage them there; but he had beaten them before by Land, and therefore doubted not but he might do it again. So that he would have come to juſt the ſame Reſolution if they had ſeen no Eagle at all.

would

would reap an immenſe Advantage from ſuch an Engagement, during the whole War; and if they chanced to be overcome, he could not perceive that any vaſt Danger could enſue, becauſe the *Perſians*, by virtue of their Shipping, already held the Sovereignty of the Sea, without fighting: As for his Part, he would willingly enter himſelf on board, and ſhare the Danger of the Fleet in his own Perſon. However, *Alexander* return'd him Anſwer, That he was miſtaken in his Conjectures, and did not interpret the Omen juſtly; for it would be a Point of ſmall Prudence in him, with ſo few Ships, to hazard an Engagement againſt a Fleet ſo numerous; and with Soldiers ſo little train'd up in Naval Diſcipline to pretend to attack the expert *Cyprians* and *Phœnicians*: Neither was he willing that the Barbarians ſhould try the Skill and Valour of the *Macedonians* on ſo unſtable an Element: And beſides, ſhould they be beaten in a Sea-Fight, an inexpreſſible Damage would accrue to them, from the Fame their Enemies would thereby gain. Add to this, that if the *Greeks* were animated by the News of an Overthrow at Sea, they would begin to ſtudy Innovations. All which Things, maturely weigh'd, he deem'd a Sea-Fight altogether unſafe, at that Juncture: And for his Part, he expounded the Omen in a different Manner. The Eagle, indeed, he allowed, promiſed Succeſs; but as ſhe was ſeen on the Shore, it ſeem'd rather to portend, that he ſhould become Maſter of the Enemies Fleet, by beating their Armies on the Continent.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

ABOUT [1] this Time *Glaucippus*, one of the chief Men of *Miletus*, was diſpatch'd to *Alexander* from the People and foreign Auxiliaries, (to whom the chief Care of the City was committed) to acquaint him, that the *Mileſians* were willing their Walls and Gates ſhould be free to him as well as the *Perſians*, if on theſe Terms, he would raiſe his Siege. *Alexander*, upon this, order'd the Meſſenger immediately to return, and tell the Citizens to prepare every thing for a ſpeedy Storm. Whereupon he moved his Engines to the Walls, which, in a ſhort time, being partly ſhaken, and partly beat

[1] This whole Chapter *Freinſhemius* has tranſlated, and inſerted in his Supplement, *lib.* ii. *cap.* 7. and indeed it is evident he has taken the whole Subſtance of his Supplement from *Arrian*. However, to ſhew us that Miracles are of Force to convince us of the Truth of Hiſtory, as well as of Religion, he has obliged his Readers with no fewer than three, from ſo many different Authors. The firſt (if I miſtake not) is from *Lactantius*, where he ſays, that *Alexander*'s Soldiers having ſtorm'd the City, broke into the Temple of *Ceres*, with a Deſign to plunder it, but a Fire ſuddenly ruſh'd from the inner Parts thereof, like Lightning, and put forth the ſacrilegious Wretches Eyes. The ſecond is from *Athenæus*, who acquaints us, that *Alexander* found a Spring there, which at its Head was brackiſh, but after it had run ſome Space upon the Surface of the Earth, (without any Mixture of other Water, I ſuppoſe, for otherwiſe the Miracle is not worth a Farthing) it became exceeding ſweet and pleaſant to the Taſte. But the third from *Pliny* far outdoes the other two: For he ſays, that a Dolphin at *Faſſo*, (a Town upon an Iſland not far from *Miletus*) being enamour'd with a Boy, knew his Voice—— What modern Philoſopher after this, dares vouch that Fiſh cannot hear?—— and whenever he was call'd, took him upon his Back, and convey'd him ſafe thro' the Waters. Whereupon *Alexander*, imagining the Boy a Favourite of *Neptune*, appointed him his Prieſt.—— *Arrian* undoubtedly knew theſe Stories, but deem'd them inconſiſtent with the Gravity of an Hiſtorian.

down;

down; he drew his Army forwards, that they might make a ſudden Entrance where-ever a Breach became practicable; the *Perſians*, all this while, no further off than *Mycale*, being Witneſſes of the Streights of their beſieged Friends. *Nicanor*, in the mean time, obſerving *Alexander*'s Motions, made Sail from the Iſland *Lade*, and coaſting along Shore, enter'd the Haven of *Miletus*; in the very Jaws, or narroweſt Parts of which, ranging his *Triremes*, with their Beaks towards the Sea, he at once ſhut up the Entrance of the Port from the *Perſian* Navy, and put an End to all the Citizens Hopes of Succour. The *Macedonians* then entering the City, and ruſhing forwards, and the *Mileſians* and mercenary Soldiers now deſpairing of Safety, ſome of them caſt themſelves into the Sea, and lying upon their Shields eſcaped ſafe into a certain Iſland, whoſe Name is now unknown. Others leaping into their Boats, as they endeavour'd to eſcape the *Macedonian* Triremes, were taken at the Mouth of the Haven; and many were ſlain in the City. *Alexander* having gain'd the Place, moved next with his Fleet, to aſſault thoſe who had fled into the Iſland; and having order'd Ladders to be fix'd to the Beaks of their Ships, they begun to climb up a Part thereof, as ſteep as a Wall: But when he perceived that the Iſlanders were reſolved to hold out to the laſt Extremity, he was moved with Compaſſion towards them, as deeming them both Brave and Loyal; wherefore he ſent them Propoſals, that the mercenary *Greeks* ſhould ſerve under him, and receive his Pay, and that the *Mileſians*, who had ſaved themſelves from Slaughter in the City, ſhould have Life and Liberty granted them. The Barbarian Fleet then moving from *Mycale*, ſail'd all Day in View of the *Grecians*, hoping by that means to dare them to an Engagement at Sea, and at Night they return'd to their former Station, which was no way commodious, becauſe they were forced to ſend as far as the Mouths

of

of the River *Mæander* for freſh Water. *Alexander* receiving Intelligence of this, and having block'd up the Mouth of the Haven of *Miletus* with his Ships, ſo as to hinder the Enemies Fleet from entering it, diſpatch'd *Philotas* with all his Horſe, and three Troops of Foot, to *Mycale*, to hinder the *Perſians* from landing; who being hereupon reduced to great Streights for want of Water, and other Neceſſaries; and beſieged every where, but on board; they ſailed thence to *Samos*, where furniſhing themſelves with whatever they wanted, they came to *Miletus*, and drawing up the chief part of their Fleet before the Haven, to provoke the *Macedonians* to put out to Sea, five of their Ships run themſelves into a certain Creek, between the other Iſland and the Army, in hopes to ſurprize *Alexander*'s empty Fleet; for they knew that the Sailors were diſperſed up and down, far from their Ships, ſome to gather Wood, others Proviſions, others Plunder, and ſome were abſent on other Occaſions. *Alexander* no ſooner ſaw the five *Perſian* Ships approach, but he diſpatch'd ten out of his Fleet, well Mann'd, to meet them, with Orders to engage them. But they perceiving the *Macedonians* bear up towards them, contrary to their Expectations, ſtood immediately away, and return'd to the reſt of their Navy; only one of them, belonging to the *Jaſſi*, a heavy Sailor, was taken; but the other four being ſwifter, eſcaped ſafe to their own Triremes. Upon which Diſappointment, the *Perſians* growing weary of their Undertaking, drew off their Fleet from before *Miletus*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXI.

ALEXANDER then, partly for want of Money, and partly becauſe his Naval Force was inferior to the *Perſians*, reſolved to diſcharge his Fleet; for he was unwilling to hazard his Army in any Engagement by Sea. He conſidered alſo, that now he had got Footing on the firm Land of *Aſia*, he would not ſtand in need of a Fleet; and when their Sea-ports were taken, the *Perſians* would alſo be under a neceſſity of diſcharging theirs; for they would neither be able to procure a conſtant Supply of Oars, nor would they have ſo much as one Port in *Aſia* to betake themſelves to: And thus he interpreted the Omen of the Eagle to ſignify, that he ſhould deſtroy the Enemies Naval Force by his Land Army. After this, he directed his March ſtraight to *Caria*, becauſe a great Body of Troops, as well Barbarians as Auxiliaries, were ſaid to be in *Halicarnaſſus*. Wherefore, all the Towns between *Miletus* and *Halicarnaſſus* ſurrendering at his firſt Approach, he encamp'd five Stadia diſtant from the City, becauſe he imagined the Siege thereof might take him up ſome Time, the Place being well fortified; and where-ever there ſeem'd to be any Deficiency of Strength, *Memnon*, who was there preſent, and had been before declared Admiral of *Darius*'s Fleet, and Governor of all *Lower Aſia*, had ſupplied it long before; for many Troops of Mercenaries lay there in Garriſon, beſides ſeveral, of *Perſian* Soldiers; he had alſo brought the Triremes into the Haven, imagining they would be of great Advantage to him, in the Preſervation of the City: and accordingly, on the very firſt Day of the Siege, while *Alexander* was leading his Army forwards to the Walls, near the Gate

Gate looking towards *Mylaſſa*, a ſtrong Party iſſued out on a ſudden, and a ſharp Skirmiſh happened; but the *Macedonians*, bearing hard upon them, beat them back, and forced them to retire within their Walls. A few Days after this, *Alexander* drew out his Targeteers, and Royal Cohort of Horſe, as alſo *Perdiccas'* and *Meleager's* Troops of Foot, with the Archers and *Agrians*, to that Part of the City which looks towards *Myndus*, that he might view the Wall, and try if it was more eaſy to be aſſaulted there than elſewhere, or if by ſome ſudden and unexpected Excurſion, he might not ſurprize *Myndus* itſelf; for the reducing that City, he thought, would greatly contribute to his making himſelf Maſter of *Halicarnaſſus*; and not only ſo, but ſome of the *Myndians* had promiſed to ſurrender their City to him, if he would make his Approach thither ſecretly, and under Covert of the Night. At Midnight, therefore he approach'd the Walls, according to his Promiſe; but perceiving no Signs of a Surrender from the Citizens, and conſidering that he had neither Engines, nor Scaling-Ladders at hand, as coming there not to beſiege a City, but to have it deliver'd to him; he nevertheleſs, ordered the *Macedonian* Phalanx to advance, commanding them to undermine the Wall, which they did, and preſently overturn'd one of the Towers thereupon, without making a Breach in the Wall itſelf. But the Citizens making an obſtinate Defence, and being aſſiſted by the *Halicarnaſſæans*, who ſent them Succours by Sea, *Alexander* was diſappointed in his Expectations of taking it at the firſt Aſſault; wherefore, without more ado, he drew off, and return'd to his Siege of *Halicarnaſſus:* and firſt of all, order'd the Ditch which the Citizens had dug round their Walls, of Thirty Cubits in Breadth, and Fifteen in Depth, to be fill'd up, that ſo the wooden Towers out of which they were to direct their miſſive Weapons againſt the Beſieged, and their Engines to ſhake the Walls, might advance forwards.

forwards. The Ditch being accordingly fill'd up, the Towers begun to advance; but the Beſieged iſſued forth by Night, with a Deſign of burning both the Towers and Engines, which were now nigh the Walls; and had certainly effected their Deſigns, had they not been encounter'd by the *Macedonians*, who were placed to guard the Engines, and others who came haſtily forth, at the Noiſe of the Skirmiſh; ſo that they were, with ſmall Loſs, beat back into the City. There fell of the *Halicarnaſſæans* in this Conflict, One hundred and ſeventy, among whom was [1] *Neoptolemus* the Brother of *Arrabæus*, and Son of *Amyntas*, one of thoſe who had formerly fled to *Darius*. Of the *Macedonians*, Sixteen were ſlain, and near Three hundred wounded; for that Sally being made in the Night, they were the leſs able to guard their Bodies, and avoid the Darts and Arrows of their Enemies.

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[1] Ὁ Νεοπτόλεμος ὁ Ἀρραβαίου τοῦ Ἀμύντου ἀδελφὸς, &c. This, *Freinſhemius*, Suppl. *Curt. lib.* ii. *cap.* 9. has tranſlated, "*Neoptole-*" *mus*, who, with his Brother *Amyntas*, had fled to *Darius* —— without taking any notice of the Ἀρραβαίου. But he is certainly in an Error, and ſeems to have been ſenſible of ſome Difficulty in the Paſſage, by his leaving that Word untranſlated: For he will never be able to prove, that *Amyntas* the Son of *Arrabæus* fled to *Darius*. But it may be interpreted otherwiſe, without ſtraining the Matter at all, thus; Ὁ Νεοπτόλεμος ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἀρραβαίου τοῦ Ἀμύντου: *Neoptolemus*, the Brother of *Arrabæus*, and Son of *Amyntas*. That theſe two were Brothers, and Sons of *Amyntas*, is well known. They had alſo two other Brothers, *Heromenes* and *Alexander*, whoſe Names are recorded in the Twenty-ſixth Chapter of this Book. See *Gronovius*'s Notes on this Paſſage.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

SOON after this, two *Macedonian* Soldiers, intimate Friends and Companions, belonging to the Troop which was afterwards given to *Perdiccas*, beginning to extol each his own Valour, and heroick Exploits, in an extraordinary manner; and a Quarrel ariſing between them in their Cups, about their Honour, they agreed to arm themſelves ſecretly, and march towards the Walls near the Tower pointing to *Miletus*, deſigning rather to make Trial of each other's Valour in ſingle Combat, than of adventuring a dangerous Conflict with the Enemy. The Townſmen, however, eſpying them, and perceiving that only Two attempted raſhly to approach the Walls, iſſued forth. But they ſlew the firſt as ſoon as they came near, and caſt their Darts at the next, who were drawn thither by the Noiſe, and were at laſt overborn by Numbers, and the Diſadvantage of their Station; for their Enemies, in attacking them, threw their Weapons from an Eminence. In the mean while, many haſted thither from *Perdiccas'* Troop, and great Numbers alſo from the City; and hence, enſued a ſharp Battle without the Walls, wherein the Citizens were worſted, and beaten back, and the City itſelf was on the point of being taken; for they were too careleſs in their Watch, and two Towers, with the whole intermediate Space, being already thrown down, would have offered an eaſy Entrance to the Beſiegers, had their whole Army attempted it. Beſides this, another Tower which ſtood next, being ſhaken with their Engines, had certainly fallen, if it had been undermin'd; and this the Townſmen were not ignorant of; wherefore,

preparing for the worſt, they built another Wall of Brick, of a ſemicircular Form, within, in the room of that which was fallen down; and this they finiſh'd with no great Difficulty, becauſe of the vaſt number of Hands employ'd in the Work. When *Alexander* endeavour'd to batter this Wall, the next Day, the Beſieged ſuddenly ſallied forth, with a Deſign to ſet fire to his Engines, and ſome of the Sheds which ſtood neareſt, and part of one of the wooden Towers were conſumed, but the reſt were ſaved by *Philotas* and *Helanicus*, to whom the Charge of them was committed. But as ſoon as they who had made this Excurſion ſaw *Alexander*, they caſt away their Torches, and many of them alſo threw down their Arms, and fled into the City: And as the Place, where they then ſtood, was commodious, being mounted upon an Eminence, they had the Advantage; for they not only directed their Weapons right forwards againſt the Engineers, but from the Towers at each End of the ruin'd Wall, they gall'd thoſe who aſſaulted the new-built one, on each Side, ſo that no Part of them, except their Backs, remain'd unexpoſed.

CHAP. XXIII.

NOT long after this, when *Alexander* again apply'd his Engines to batter the inner brick Wall, and himſelf was preſent to forward the Work, the Beſieged, partly from the Breach now made, and partly from the Gate *Tripylus*, where the Beſiegers leaſt expected them, iſſued out ſuddenly upon the *Macedonians*; ſome bringing burning Brands, which they apply'd to the Engines, and others combuſtible Matter, to increaſe the Flames: But the *Macedo-*

Macedonians attacking them vigorouſly, and caſting huge Stones and Darts among them, from their wooden Towers, they were ſoon put to Flight, and beat back into the City: And by how much the greater were the Numbers, and the more obſtinate the Fight, by ſo much the greater was the Slaughter of the Beſieged. For ſome of them were ſlain, valiantly fighting Hand to Hand: Others were kill'd in Flight, near the Ruins of the Wall, becauſe the Breach was too narrow to afford Entrance for ſuch a Multitude, and the Aſcent thro' it, was too ſteep and rugged. Thoſe too who ſallied forth by way of the Gate *Tripylus*, were attack'd by [1] *Ptolemy*, one of the King's Body Guards, at the Head of *Addæus*' and *Timander*'s Troops, and ſome other light-arm'd Soldiers, who eaſily put them to Flight. But a dreadful Accident then befel them; for as they endeavoured to make their Eſcape over a narrow Bridge which they had laid over the Ditch—

[1] *Freinſhemius*, in his Supplement to *Curtius*, *lib.* [illegible] tells us, that this was *Ptolemy* the Son of *Philip*, and quotes two Paſſages in *Arrian*, to prove his Aſſertion; the firſt is *Chap.* 25. the ſecond points to this Place, as if they both related to the ſame Perſon. The firſt, *Chap.* 25. runs plainly thus; Τὴν Σωκράτης ἴλην Πτολεμαῖον τ' Φιλλίππε ἄγοντα. That this was *Ptolemy* the Son of *Philip*, is indiſputable; and that This was another Perſon different from him, is as certain. Three *Ptolemys* are mentioned by *Arrian*, who had all the Honour of being the King's Body Guards. The firſt was *Ptolemy* the Son of *Seleucus*, mentioned *Lib.* i. *Cap.* 25. and again *Cap.* 30. and once more *Lib.* ii. *Cap.* 12. where there is an account of his being ſlain at the Battle of *Iſſus*. The ſecond is the *Ptolemy* we now treat of, who died in this Siege. The third is *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagus*. That *Ptolemy* the Son of *Philip* was the ſame whom *Alexander* appointed Preſident of *Caria*, and who overthrew *Orontobates*, is evident from *Arrian*, *Lib.* ii. *Cap.* 5. from whence we may rationally infer, that he could not be kill'd here, and come to Life again ſo long afterwards. It had therefore been *Freinſhemius*'s beſt, as well as ſafeſt way, not to have preſumed to comment upon *Arrian*'s Words; for tho' I am not certain whoſe Son this *Ptolemy* was, yet I am aſſured, he was not the Son of *Philip*. See *Gronovius*'s Notes on this Chap.

the Bridge broke by the vaſt Weight of the Multitudes upon it, ſo that ſome fell headlong into the Ditch, ſome were trampled to Death by their own Party, and others ſlain by the *Macedonian* Darts from above. A great Slaughter of the Beſieged was alſo made at the Gates, which had been too haſtily and unſeaſonably ſhut up; for the Inhabitants, fearing leſt the *Macedonians* ſhould enter the City with their own Men, ſhut many of them out, who were every one cut off by the Enemy under the Walls. And at this time the City had been taken, had not *Alexander* cauſed a Retreat to be ſounded, (for he was deſirous of ſaving it) to try if, by any means, the *Halicarnaſſæans* would yet deliver it into his Hands. Of the Citizens, near a Thouſand were ſlain in that Conflict; of the *Macedonians*, near Forty, among whom was *Ptolemy*, one of the King's Body Guards, *Clearchus* Captain of a Troop of Archers, and *Addæus*, who had the Command of a Thouſand Foot, beſides many others of no mean Account.

CHAP. XXIV.

AFTER this, *Orontobates* and *Memnon*, and the reſt of the *Perſian* Commanders, conſidering that they could not now hold the Town long, becauſe part of their Walls was already beat down, and part ſhaken and ready to fall, and many of the Defendants either cut off, in the ſeveral Encounters which had happened, or wounded and rendered unſerviceable, and having weighed the Matter deliberately, about the ſecond Watch of the Night ſet fire to the wooden Tower which they had built to guard them from the Shocks of the Enemies Engines,

gines, and to the Arſenal where their Artillery was lodg'd, as alſo to ſome Houſes near the Wall, which laſt blazed out with much Fury, becauſe the Wind ſetting that way, many Flakes of Fire were driven from the Tower and Arſenal thither. Hereupon, ſome of the Townſmen betook themſelves to a Caſtle in an Iſland, and others to another Caſtle call'd [1] *Salmacis*. Which, when *Alexander* was inform'd of, by ſome Deſerters, and when he beheld the raging Flames, tho' it was near Midnight, he nevertheleſs detach'd a Body of *Macedonians* thither, with Orders to ſlay thoſe who ſet fire to the City, but to ſpare whomſoever they found in their Habitations. As ſoon as it was Day-light, *Alexander*, viewing the Caſtles which the *Perſians* and their mercenary Troops had ſeiz'd, reſolved not to lay Siege to them, as well becauſe the reducing them, conſidering their Situation, would take up too much Time, as becauſe they would not be of any great Importance, after he had reduced the City: Wherefore,

[1] *Arrian* makes mention here, of two Caſtles, or Places of Strength and Security, whither the Townſmen retired: One was in an Iſland, which he names not; the other was called *Salmacis*. But *Freinſhemius* has made them three, and quotes *Diodorus* and *Arrian*. See his Suppl. *Book* ii. *Chap.* 11. He places one of his Caſtles in the obſcure Iſland abovementioned; a ſecond he names *Salmacis*; and tells us of a third in the Iſland *Cos*, which laſt he had from *Diodorus*. However, *Diodorus* mentions but two, any more than *Arrian*, only he gives us their Names different; for he calls the one Ἀκρόπολις, or a Caſtle ſeated on an Eminence in the City: the other, he ſays, was εἰς τὴν Κῶν. That there were not two Caſtles in the City, *Strabo* aſſures us, *Book* xiv. and *Vitruvius*, *Book* ii. *Chap.* 8. and that there were not two on the obſcure Iſland, is evident from *Arrian*. I am therefore of Opinion, he had much better have forborn bringing in *Diodorus*, to ſupply *Arrian*'s Deficiencies. And beſides, the Iſland *Cos*, tho' not far from *Halicarnaſſus*, was not however ſo near, as that *Alexander* could view the Situation thereof from thence, the next Morning, at Day-break, as *Arrian* aſſures us he did, and judge it too ſtrong for him to reduce without a formal Siege. *Vide Gronov. ad Arrian.*

taking Care to inter thoſe who fell in the late Conflict by Night, he commanded his Engineers to convey the Artillery to *Tralles*, which City he laid level with the Ground; and marching thence into *Phrygia*, left a Body of Three thouſand Foot, and Two hundred Horſe, under the Command of *Ptolemy*, to keep the Country of *Caria* in Obedience; for he had, before this Time, appointed *Ada* to be Governeſs of *Caria*. She was the Daughter of *Hecatomnus*, and Siſter to *Hildricus*, and nevertheleſs was his Wife, according to the *Carian* Laws. *Hildricus* dying, left the Adminiſtration of Affairs in her Hands; for it had been an ancient Cuſtom among the *Aſiatics*, ever ſince the Time of *Semiramis*, that the Widow ſhould reign after her Husband's Deceaſe. She was dethroned by *Pexodorus*, who uſurp'd the Sovereignty; but he dying, *Orontobates*, his Son-in-Law, was ſent thither by *Darius*, to take Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom. *Ada* held only one City in Obedience, but that was the ſtrongeſt in her Territories, and named *Alinda*. She went forth to meet *Alexander*, who was marching with his Army thither, and delivering her City into his Hands, adopted him her Son. *Alexander*, neither deſpiſing her Liberality, nor diſdaining the Title of Son, which ſhe had conferr'd upon him, left the City in her Cuſtody; and after he had demoliſhed *Halicarnaſſus*, and reduced all *Caria*, honour'd her with the Government of the whole Province.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

SOME of the *Macedonian* Soldiers who ſerved under *Alexander*, having married Wives, a little while before he undertook this Expedition, he deem'd their Caſe not unworthy his Conſideration; wherefore diſmiſſing them at *Caria*, he gave them Leave to return into *Macedonia*, and ſpend the Winter with their Wives; *Ptolemy* the Son of *Seleucus*, one of his Body Guards, being appointed their Lieutenant. *Cænus* alſo, the Son of *Polemocrates*, and *Meleager* the Son of *Neoptolemus*, (who had newly married Wives) were join'd in Commiſſion with him. Their Orders were, that, at their Return, they ſhould bring back thoſe he had then diſmiſs'd, and with them, as many Recruits of Horſe and Foot as could be raiſed in the Country. And this ſingle Act of *Alexander*'s endear'd him as much to the *Macedonians*, as any other throughout his whole Reign. He alſo, about this Time, diſpatch'd *Cleander* the Son of *Polemocrates* to levy Soldiers in *Peloponneſus*, and *Parmenio*, on whom he had conferr'd the Command of the Royal Cohort, upon the ſame Account to *Sardis*; he alſo order'd him to convey the *Theſſalian* Horſe, and other Auxiliaries, and the Waggons, with him from *Sardis* into *Phrygia*. He, in the mean time, [1] directed his March thro' *Lycia* and *Pamphylia*, with a Deſign to reduce

[1] *Plutarch* tells us, *p.* 10. *Ed. Steph.* that *Alexander* was ſomewhat unſettled in his Reſolutions, at firſt, whether he ſhould march directly forwards, and fight *Darius* where-ever he could find him, or endeavour to reduce all the Sea-coaſts, and render the Enemies Fleet uſeleſs; but while he was deliberating what Courſe to take,

the Sea-coaſts, and by that means render the Enemies Fleet uſeleſs: And accordingly, at his firſt ſetting out, *Hyparna*, a Town well fortified, and furniſhed with a good Garriſon of mercenary Troops, ſurrendered at his Approach; and the Foreigners who held the Caſtle, having received Terms, were ſuffered to depart. Thence, haſting into *Lycia* with his Army, he eaſily gain'd the *Telmiſſeans*; and paſſing the River *Xanthus*, had the Cities of *Xanthus*, *Pinara*, *Patara*, and about Thirty more, ſurrendered to him. Theſe Things ſo happily accompliſh'd, he march'd, in the very Depth of Winter, to *Mylias*, a Province ſo named, which properly belonged to *Phrygia* the Greater, but by *Darius*'s Command, was contributary to *Lycia*. Hither came the Embaſſadors of the *Phaſelitæ*, who requeſted his Friendſhip, and preſented him with a Crown of Gold; and hither alſo, not a few of the Cities of Lower *Lycia* ſent Embaſſadors to him, and entered into Amity with him. He thereupon ordered them to deliver up their Cities to thoſe whom he diſpatch'd thither for that purpoſe; which was accordingly perform'd. He then paſs'd into the Province of *Phaſelis*, which he reduced, as alſo a certain Fort, which the *Piſidians* had built there, from whence the Barbarians, by frequent Incurſions, had harraſs'd the Country round about.

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a Fountain, or Rivulet, near the City *Xanthus* in *Lycia*, overflowing its Banks, threw up a Copper-Plate, whereon was engraved, in antient Characters, "That the Time was come, when the *Perſian* Empire ſhould be ſubverted by the *Grecians*."—— This was, without doubt, a Device to animate the Soldiery. Its being wrote in antique Characters, was no Sign of its being really antient; for we have an hundred Engravers, now living, who will imitate any Characters, that ever were ſeen, ſo as hardly to be diſtinguiſhed. However, it ſeems, the Characters were not ſo very antique, but thoſe who were appointed for that Purpoſe, could pick out their Meaning: and to me, it is no great Wonder they ſhould; for it is very probable, they who contrived them were ſet to work to interpret them.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

WHILE the King was in that Country, he received Information, that [1] *Alexander* the Son of *Aeropus*, one of his Friends, to whom he had given the Command of the *Theſſalian* Horſe, had conſpired his Death. This *Alexander* was Brother to *Heromenes* and *Arrabæus*, who had been privy to the Death of *Philip*; and he himſelf had ſome Share therein; however, as he applied to him among the firſt, after *Philip's* Deceaſe, and accompanied him ariv'd to his Palace, he pardoned him, and afterwards heap'd many Honours upon him; for he gave him the Command of the Forces which he ſent into *Thrace*, and *Calas* Captain of the *Thracian* Horſe being diſpatch'd to his Government, he had that Poſt conferr'd on him. This Conſpiracy is ſaid to have been thus diſcover'd: After *Amyntas* had fled to *Darius*, and had carried him Letters, and Orders, from this *Alexander*, he diſpatch'd *Aſiſines*, a *Perſian*, much in Favour and Credit, to the Sea-coaſt, under pretence of an Embaſſy to *Aitzyes* Governor of *Phrygia*, but, in reality, to meet this *Alexander*, and withal to aſſure him, that if he would murder the King, he ſhould have the Kingdom of *Macedonia* conferr'd upon him, beſides a Gratuity of a Thouſand Talents of Silver. But *Aſiſines* being ſeized and examined by *Parmenio*,

[1] This *Alexander* is ſometimes call'd the Son of *Aeropus*, and ſometimes *Alexander Lynceſtes*, by *Freinſhemius*; the firſt Name he gives him from *Arrian*, and the latter, which was the Name of his Country, in Complaiſance to *Curtius* and *Diodorus*. However, it was the ſame Perſon.

related

related the true Cauſe of his Embaſſy; upon which account, he was ſent under a ſtrong Guard, to the King, that he might make the ſame Confeſſion there. The King having then call'd his Council together, adviſed with them, what was beſt to be done: They all unanimouſly gave it as their Opinion, that he had truſted the beſt Part of his Horſe in unfaithful Hands, and therefore it was neceſſary to diſpatch him ſpeedily out of the way, before he became ſo gracious among them, as, by their means, to be able to raiſe any Inſurrection. A Prodigy, which was ſaid to have happen'd at that Time, ſtruck them with no ſmall Fear; for whilſt the King, who then lay encamp'd before *Halicarnaſſus*, was faſt aſleep, at Mid-day, a [2] Swallow making a great Noiſe, is ſaid to have hover'd over his Head, and to have reſted, ſometimes on one Side of the Bed, and ſometimes on the other, and to have been more noiſy and troubleſome than uſual. He had been exceedingly fatigued, and was not eaſily awaked; but when her inceſſant chattering rous'd him from Sleep, he put her away gently with his Hand, notwith-

[2] Every Man to his own Trade. Where there are Prieſts, there will be Prodigies. The Seeds of Superſtition, ſown by ſuch induſtrious Hands, ſprout up into a plentiful Harveſt. The moſt common and ordinary Occurrences in Nature, by ſuch dexterous Managers, become uncommon and extraordinary. A poor, harmleſs Hare croſſing a Man's Way, a Raven croaking, an Owl ſtaring him in the Face, or a Swallow chattering over his Head, ſhall be deem'd fatal Omens. Here a poor Swallow fell a chattering ſo loud, that ſhe waked *Alexander* out of his Sleep. I can ſee no mighty Matter in all this. Had ſhe with an audible Voice chanted out a Hymn to *Jupiter Conſervator*, till ſhe had waked him, and then ſpoke articulately, and told him plainly, that a certain Name-ſake of his was going to knock out his Brains, it had been worthy his Notice. However, as it was, the King heard the Noiſe, and the Prieſt was to expound its Meaning: and truly, becauſe the Swallow was a domeſtick Bird, a domeſtick Conſpiracy was portended; and becauſe ſhe was a loquacious Bird, the Conſpiracy would be diſcovered. Who, that had not been skill'd in the Language of Birds, could have given ſo profound an Anſwer?

ſtanding

ſtanding which, ſhe was ſo far from endeavouring to eſcape, that ſhe perch'd upon his Head, and ceaſed not her Noiſe till the King was throughly awake. This Prodigy being deem'd of too great Moment to be diſregarded, he immediately conſulted with *Ariſtander* the *Telmiſſean* Soothſayer, who aſſured him, that a Conſpiracy was form'd againſt his Life by one of his Domeſticks, but that it would be brought to Light, becauſe the Swallow was a domeſtick Bird, and moſt exceedingly loquacious. He therefore comparing the Soothſayer's Anſwer with the Confeſſion of *Aſiſines*, diſpatch'd *Amphoterus* the Son of *Alexander*, and *Craterus* his Brother, immediately to *Parmenio*, attended by ſome *Pergeans*, as Guides. *Amphoterus* having put on the Country Habit, to prevent Suſpicion on the Road, came ſecretly to *Parmenio*; and as he had brought no Letters from the King, (the Matter being thought not proper to be committed to Writing,) he delivered his Meſſage by Word of Mouth: Whereupon *Alexander* was there ſeiz'd, and committed to ſafe Cuſtody.

CHAP. XXVII.

THE King then moving from *Phaſelis*, diſpatch'd part of his Army thro' the mountainous Country to *Perga* by a nigher, tho' a much more difficult Way, ſhew'd them by the [1] *Thracians*, while

[1] It may be thought ſtrange, that the *Thracians* ſhould be choſen as Guides in a Country ſo far diſtant from their own; but the Reader muſt underſtand, that there were two Countries of that Name; the one *Thrace* in *Europe*, the other *Thracia Bithynia* in *Aſia*, which laſt was not far diſtant. Beſides, perhaps there may be

while he led the reſt along the Sea-coaſt. But this laſt Road [2] is always impaſſable, except when the North Winds blow; but then, after the moſt raging South Wind had held a long Time, the North Winds begun, and, by the Interpoſition of ſome divine Power, as he and his Followers declared, they obtained a ſafe and eaſy Paſſage. When he had paſs'd thro' *Perga*, he was met, on his Way, by the Embaſſadors of the *Aſpendians*, who promiſed to ſurrender their City into his Hands, but intreated him not to impoſe a Garriſon upon them. Their Requeſt was granted, on Condition they would raiſe Fifty Talents, to pay his Soldiers, and give him the Tribute of Horſes, they had hitherto given to *Darius*. Theſe Terms being agreed to by the Embaſſadors, they departed. *Alexander* then march'd to *Sidæ*, the Inhabitants of which City were originally *Cumæans*, from *Cuma* in *Æolia*, and give this ſtrange Account of their Original. Their Anceſtors, they ſay, who left *Cuma*, and betook themſelves to this Country, no ſooner ſet Foot on Shore, but they forgot their Native Language, and begun to utter their Minds to each other, in a ſtrange Tongue, which, nevertheleſs, had no Affinity with the *Bar-*

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be a Fault in the Original; for *Gronovius* tells us, that in no fewer than three Manuſcript Copies of *Arrian*, it was not wrote Θεῤῥικες, but Κᾶκες, which may perhaps be a Corruption from Κᾶρες; and it is certain, *Caria* was juſt in the Neighbourhood. *Vide Gronov. ad locum.*

[2] *Arrian* here tells us, that ſome divine Power muſt have directed *Alexander* in his Paſſage; but *Raderus*, one of the Commentators on *Curtius*, goes further, and acquaints us, that the *Pamphylian* Sea fled back to make Way for *Alexander*, in the ſame manner as the *Red Sea* for the Children of *Iſrael*. *Arrian* aſſigns a probable Reaſon for his Aſſertion, namely, that the violent North-Winds which then blew, had forced the Sea back, and left the Shores dry. However, *Plutarch* aſſures us, that *Alexander*, in his Epiſtles, mentions nothing unuſual in it at all; but only ſays, he departed from *Phaſelis*, and march'd through the Streights call'd the *Ladders*. *Vide Plutarch. in vita Alexand. p.* 1235, & 1236.

barians

barians their Neighbours, but was proper, and peculiar to themſelves, and altogether unknown before: From that Time therefore, the *Siditæ* had a Language different from all the Nations round them. *Alexander* having left a Garriſon in that City, directed his March to *Syllius*, a Place well fortified, and ſtrengthened not only with a Garriſon of foreign Mercenaries, but a great Number of ſtout Inhabitants; ſo that it could not be taken by a ſudden Aſſault. And now he received Intelligence, that the *Aſpendians* refuſed to perform their late Covenants, and would neither deliver the Horſes to thoſe who were ſent thither to receive them, nor pay the Money; but, on the contrary, having convey'd all their Cattle out of the Fields, into the City, ſhut their Gates againſt his Meſſengers, and fell to repairing their Walls, where-ever they were gone to Decay: Whereupon he return'd ſuddenly, and encamp'd with his Army near *Aſpendus*.

CHAP. XXVIII.

THE City of *Aſpendus* is ſeated chiefly upon a high and ſteep Rock, the Foot of which is waſh'd by the River *Eurymedon*; but round the Rock, upon the Plain, are abundance of Houſes, ſurrounded with a ſlight Wall. As ſoon as *Alexander* approach'd, the Inhabitants of the lower Town, diſtruſting their Safety there, fled, and betook themſelves to the higher Town, or Caſtle; which, when he perceived, he entered the lower Town with his Army, and encamp'd within the Walls. The Beſieged ſeeing *Alexander*'s Force, and themſelves hemm'd in, on every Side, contrary to their Expectations, ſent Meſſengers to intreat him to accept of the

the former Conditions. *Alexander* conſidering the Strength of the Place, and how unprovided he was to undertake a long Siege, was willing to agree with them, tho' not upon the former Terms, but inſiſted now, that their principal Citizens ſhould be delivered up as Hoſtages; that the Number of Horſes which they had before promiſed, ſhould be punctually delivered, and the Number of Talents doubled; and moreover, that they ſhould be under the Command of ſuch a Garriſon, as he ſhould place over them, and pay an annual Tribute to the *Macedonians*; and laſtly, that the Cauſe concerning the Fields, which they were ſaid to have wreſted unjuſtly out of their Neighbours Hands, ſhould be referr'd to Arbitration. All theſe Conditions being agreed to, he march'd from thence to *Perge*, and thence led his Army into *Phrygia*; and his Way obliging him, he paſs'd by *Telmiſſus*, the Inhabitants of which Place are Barbarians, a Colony of *Piſidia*. The City is ſeated on a high Mountain, ſteep and rugged on every Side, ſo that the [1] Paſſage up to it is difficult and dangerous; for the Mountain extends itſelf from the City, to the very Road, and another Mountain riſes over againſt it, equally inacceſſible, ſo that the Paſs is extreamly narrow, and by a ſmall Party might be entirely block'd up. The *Telmiſſeans* had poſted their Forces upon both theſe Hills; which *Alexander* perceiving, ordered his *Macedonians* to pitch their Tents as near their Enemies as poſſible; imagining, that the *Telmiſſeans* would not long continue their Stations there, when they came to ſee his

[1] The Deſcription of theſe Hills is not unlike thoſe of the *Pylæ Caſpiæ*, mentioned by *Pliny*, *lib.* vi. *cap.* 14. The Reaſon, ſays he, why they obtained the Name of *Pylæ*, or Gates, is, becauſe two Mountains are ſeparated from each other, by a Paſs, ſo very narrow, that there is ſcarce room for ſingle Carriages; and the Rocks hanging over Head on each Side, appear as if they had been ſcorch'd with Fire.

Army

Army encamp'd, but that the greateſt Part of them would retire into the City, and leave only a ſlight Guard there. And the Event ſhew'd, that he was not deceived in his Judgment; for a ſmall Party was left to guard the Hills, and their whole Force beſides, haſted into the City; *Alexander* then immediately leading on his Archers and Darters, and light-arm'd Soldiers, attack'd the Guard; whereupon the *Telmiſſeans*, unable to endure the Shock, betook themſelves to Flight, and abandoned the Mountain.

CHAP. XXIX.

ALEXANDER having made himſelf Maſter of the Paſs, encamp'd before the City; and thither came to him the Embaſſadors of the *Selgeæ*. They are alſo a Colony of the *Piſidians*, inhabit a populous City, and are a warlike People; and being antient Enemies to the *Telmiſſeans*, they had diſpatch'd this Embaſſy to *Alexander*, requeſting his Friendſhip. Their Requeſt being granted, he afterwards made uſe of them, as faithful and valiant Soldiers. The Siege of the City of *Telmiſſus* was look'd upon as an Undertaking which would require too much Time; wherefore he decamp'd from before it, and march'd to [1] *Salagaſſus*. This was alſo a large

[1] There is a prodigious Difference in Authors, concerning the true Name of this City: A certain old Coin of *M. Aurelius*, has theſe Letters inſcribed upon it, ΓΑΛΑΓΑΣ; the former Part of the Inſcription being obliterated. Whereupon *Robert Stephens* aſſures us, that *Salagaſſus* is erroneous. Many have followed this Correction, tho' they have been ſomewhat dubious of its Validity. Even *Freinſhemius* himſelf has choſen it, tho' all the Copies of *Arrian*, from whence he borrowed the whole Story, are againſt him. *Strabo* and

large City of the *Piſidians*; and notwithſtanding all the *Piſidians* were deem'd warlike People, yet theſe were always counted the chief. There was a Hill which overlook'd their City, and which they imagining of no leſs Importance than their Walls, from whence to annoy their Enemies, they ſeiz'd it; whereupon *Alexander* immediately divided his Army into two Bodies. On the Right Wing, where himſelf commanded in Chief, were the Targeteers in Front; next theſe, the Royal Cohort of Foot, extending even to the other Wing, according as the particular Orders for drawing up the Army were given out that Day. The Left Wing was commanded by *Amyntas* the Son of *Arrabæus*. On the Right Wing were placed the [2] Archers and *Agrians*; on the Left the *Thracian* Darters, headed by *Sitalces*. As to the Horſe, they were altogether unſerviceable, in a Place ſo rugged and mountainous. The *Telmiſſeans* moreover, came to the Aid of theſe Citizens, and ſtrengthen'd their Force. And now *Alexander*'s Army approaching the Hill, which the *Piſidians* had fortified, and attempting to aſcend it, in Places extreamly ſteep, the Barbarians ſuddenly ruſh'd upon both Wings from an Ambuſcade; for all the Paſſages round the Hill were well known, and familiar to them, but rugged and dangerous to the Aſſailants. The Archers, who led the Van, being light-arm'd, were hereupon put to Flight; but the *Agrians* ſtood their Ground, for the *Macedonian* Phalanx was at hand, with *Alexander* at their Head.

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and *Stephanus* write it Σελγεωδς, which approaches much nearer *Salagaſſus*, than the other; for which Reaſon, *Gronovius* has thought fit to retain the old Name; and ſo ſhall I too, unleſs I could ſee better Authority for an Alteration. *Vide Gronov. ad Arrian.*

[2] Τοξόται. This Word *Freinſhemius* has interpreted, *Velites*, or light-arm'd Men: A Word too general. And this is, ſays *Gronovius*, like his Maſter *Curtius*, to *Latinize* a *Greek* Author, as if he were mad. *Arrian* calls them plainly, Τοξόται ἀκοντιβῶς ὡπλισμένοι; Archers light-arm'd. See *Gronovius*'s Notes to *Arrian*, *Chap.* 29.

However,

However, when they came to a cloſe Fight, and the naked Barbarians were to encounter with the arm'd *Macedonians*, they were ſlain and wounded in great Numbers; and the remainder turn'd their Backs and fled. There fell of the Citizens that Day about Five hundred. But many being light-arm'd, and throughly acquainted with the Place, eaſily eſcaped by Flight: whereas the *Macedonians*, by reaſon of the Weight of their Armour, and their Ignorance of the Country, durſt not pretend to purſue them. However, *Alexander* being victorious here, immediately attack'd the City, and took it by Storm. In this Siege *Cleander*, one of his Captains, was ſlain, and about twenty Soldiers. He then march'd againſt other Places in *Piſidia*, and took ſome of their ſtrong Holds by Force, whilſt others were ſurrender'd upon Articles.

CHAP. XXX.

AFTER this, he haſted into *Phrygia*, and paſſed by the Lake *Aſcania*, where Salt is naturally concreted, which the Inhabitants of that Country uſe inſtead of the common Salt made from Sea-water. On the fifth Day after, he pitch'd his Tents before [1] *Celæne*, in which City was a Caſtle ſeated on an Eminence, and every way well fortified.

[1] Thus far *Freinſhemius*, the beſt, as well as moſt learned Commentator, that *Curtius* ever had. We now enter upon *Curtius's* own Work; and this begins his Third Book. He introduces it with a long Deſcription of the River *Marſyas*, which is nothing at all to his purpoſe, and in which he has committed a brace of Blunders. Deſcriptions of Rivers, Mountains, Towns, and Countries, unleſs of abſolute Neceſſity, are ſo far from being of Advantage

fied. This was garriſon'd with a Thouſand *Carians*, and an Hundred *Grecian* Mercenaries, under the Command of a *Phrygian* Nobleman. Theſe diſpatch'd [2] Embaſſadors to acquaint *Alexander*, that if they received no Succours within a certain limited Time, by them mentioned, they would ſurrender the Fort into his Hands. Which Conditions He (judging much more convenient for him, than to undertake a difficult and hazardous Siege againſt a Caſtle almoſt impregnable) thought fit to accept: and the Succours not arriving at the Time, the City and Caſtle were delivered up. *Alexander* put therein a Garriſon of One thouſand five hundred Soldiers, and reſted there ten Days. He then, having appointed *Antigonus* the Son of *Philip* Governor of *Phrygia*, and *Balacrus* the Son of *Amyntas* Præfect of the auxiliary Forces in his ſtead, directed his March to *Gordium*; and wrote Letters to *Parmenio*, to meet him there, with the Troops under his Command; which he accordingly did. The *Macedonians* who had been ſent home to viſit their new Wives, came alſo to *Gordium*, and with them ſome Recruits which *Ptolomey* the Son of *Seleucus*, *Cænus* the Son of *Polemocrates*, and *Meleager* the Son of *Neop-*

tage to an Hiſtory, that they ſerve only to confound the Reader, and divert him from the main Story; and beſides, they are the Province of Geographers, not Hiſtorians. But to proceed: he tells us, *lib.* iii. *cap.* 1, 3. *Edit. Varior.* that the River *Marſyas* ſpreads itſelf, and waters all the Fields about, without receiving any Addition of other Waters. —— This is true as to the River *Orgas*, wherewith he confounds it, but falſe as to the other. Secondly, he acquaints us, that after *Marſyas* has run thro' *Cellenæ*, it is call'd *Lycus*. This is falſe; for *Lycus* is a quite different River, and paſſes by *Laodicea*. See more of this, in the Criticiſm prefix'd to this Work.

[2] *Curtius*, *lib.* iii. *cap.* 1, 6, 7, 8. and in *Snakenburgh*'s *Curtius*, *p.* 52, 53. tells us, that *Alexander* ſent a Summons to the Citizens, who took the Meſſenger into the Caſtle, and acquainted him, how well able they were to ſuſtain a Siege. However, he ſays, they afterwards deſired a Truce for ſixty Days.

tolemus,

Polemus, had raiſed. Theſe Recruits conſiſted of a Thouſand *Macedonian* Foot, and Three hundred Horſe; Two hundred *Theſſalian* Horſe, and an Hundred and fifty *Eleans*, commanded by *Alcias* the *Elean*. The City *Gordium* is ſeated in *Phrygia*, nigh the *Helleſpont*, upon the River *Sangarius*. This River has its Riſe in *Phrygia*, whence flowing thro' the *Bithynian Thrace*, it falls at laſt into the *Euxine* Sea. [3] Hither the *Athenians* ſent their Embaſſadors to *Alexander*, beſeeching him to releaſe ſuch of their Citizens as had been taken fighting for the *Perſians*, at the River *Granicus*, and were then, with Two thouſand others, kept Priſoners in *Macedonia*. But they return'd without obtaining their Requeſt; for He did not think it adviſeable, whilſt the *Perſian* War yet continued, to remove that Dread from the *Greeks*, who durſt attempt to take up Arms for Barbarians, againſt their own Countrymen: wherefore he diſpatch'd them with this Anſwer, That whenever the [4] *Perſian* War was finiſh'd to his Wiſhes, they might then ſend their Embaſſadors, to ſolicit for the Freedom of their Citizens.

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[3] *Curtius* acquaints us, that theſe Embaſſadors met *Alexander* at *Cellenæ*, *lib.* iii. *cap.* 1, 9.

[4] This *Alexander* did to keep the *Grecian* States in Awe, till he had finiſhed the *Perſian* War, by detaining ſo many of their Citizens as Hoſtages.

ARRIAN's
HISTORY
OF
ALEXANDER's Expedition.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

IN the mean time, [1] *Memnon*, whom King *Darius* had conſtituted Admiral of his whole Fleet, deſigning to move the Seat of War into *Greece*, had the Iſland [2] *Chios* deliver'd to him, by Treachery: Whence, hoiſting Sail for *Lesbos*, and having reduced all the Towns upon that Iſland, except

[1] *Memnon* the *Rhodian*, was the beſt General, both by Sea and Land, that *Darius* ever had, and whom, by reaſon of his unwearied Induſtry, and exact Knowledge in Military Affairs, *Alexander* chiefly feared. An Account of his Acts may be ſeen in *Diodorus*, *lib.* xvii. He it was, who took the Iſlands *Lesbos*, *Chios*, and *Cos*, and garriſon'd them with *Perſians*: But while he was endeavouring to transfer the War into *Macedonia*, he was ſeiz'd with a peſtilential Diſeaſe, and died, and with him the good Fortune of the *Perſians*. *Vide Diod. Sic. Bib. lib.* xvii. *p.* 509.

[2] *Chios* is now called *Scio*; *Lesbos*, *Metelino*; and *Cos*, *Lango*. Theſe three are noble Iſlands in the *Ægæan* Sea, near the *Aſiatic* Shore.

cept *Mitylene*, which declared for *Alexander*, he appear'd before it; and (as that City is ſeated on a Promontory) cut off its Communication with the Iſland, by a double Wall, fortified with five Caſtles, and drawn acroſs the Neck of Land, from Sea to Sea; whereby he prevented its receiving any Succours by Land: and with one part of his Fleet he kept Poſſeſſion of the Harbour, and order'd the reſt to cruize near *Sigrius*, a Promontory of *Lesbos*, where is a Road for Ships of Burden, ſailing from *Chios*, *Geræſtus*, and *Malea*; by which means he obſtructed all hopes of Supplies by Sea. About this Time he died; and his Death was a great Blow to *Darius*'s Affairs: nevertheleſs, *Autophradates*, and [3] *Pharnabazus* the Son of *Artabazus*, to whom *Memnon*, at his Deceaſe, had left the Navy in Charge, till *Darius* ſhould have Leiſure to conſider the Matter, (for he was his Siſter's Son) carried on the Siege with Vigour. The *Mitylenians* therefore, finding themſelves diſtreſs'd, by Sea and Land, diſpatch'd Embaſſadors to *Pharnabazus*, and agreed to ſurrender their City to the *Perſians*, upon theſe Conditions; (*viz.*) That the foreign Auxiliaries ſent them by *Alexander* ſhould be ſuffered to depart peaceably: That the Tables whereon their League with *Alexander* was engraved, ſhould be deſtroyed: That they ſhould enter into a League with *Darius*, according to the Articles of Peace formerly made by *Antalcis*: That their Exiles ſhould return, and have half their Effects reſtored them. Theſe Terms being accepted, *Pharnabazus* and *Autophradates* entered the City, and introduced a Garriſon, com-

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Shore. They ſurrendered to *Alexander*, after the Battle of *Granicus*, but were again reduced by *Memnon*.

[3] *Curtius* has not ſo much as mentioned the Name of *Autophradates*, nor that of *Pharnabazus*, till afterwards; and indeed, he has curtail'd this Story ſo ſtrangely, that it is a difficult matter to underſtand him.

manded by *Lycomedes* the *Rhodian*. The Civil Government of the City was, at the ſame time, committed into the Hands of *Diogenes*, one of their Exiles, and a huge Sum of Money extorted from them, one part thereof by a Tax on the wealthy Citizens, and the reſt from the Multitude.

CHAP. II.

PHARNABAZUS then ſet Sail for *Lycia*, carrying the foreign Auxiliaries abovementioned with him: And *Autophradates* had a Deſign upon ſome other Iſlands. In the mean while, *Darius* diſpatch'd [1] *Thymondas* the Son of *Mentor* to *Pharnabazus*, to take Care of the Mercenaries, and acquaint him, in his Name, that he was come to ſucceed his Father. *Pharnabazus* having deliver'd up the Soldiers to *Thymondas*, immediately made Sail to join *Autophradates*. Theſe, jointly, diſpatch'd [2] *Datames* the *Perſian* againſt the *Cyclades*, with ten Ships, whilſt they, with a hundred, made ready to attack [3] *Tenedos*: They accordingly haſted thither, and entering the North Haven, diſpatch'd a Meſſage to the Inhabitants, commanding them immediately to deſtroy the Tables whereon their former Leagues, with *Alexander* and the *Greeks*, were engraved; and accept of Peace from *Darius*, on the ſame Terms which were granted them before

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[1] *Curtius* calls him *Thymodes*. The Story of him, and his Father *Mentor*, a brave and valiant General, may be ſeen in *Rhinecius*, *Tom.* iii. of the *Rhodian* Commanders.

[2] The whole Story of *Datames* the *Perſian*, is not any where taken notice of by *Curtius*.

[3] *Tenedos* is a famous Iſland adjacent to the *Trojan* Shore, at the very Entrance of the *Helleſpont*.

by *Antalcis*. The Iſlanders had indeed a much greater Affection for *Alexander*, and the *Greeks*; but (as their Affairs then ſtood) they run the riſque of being deſtroy'd, unleſs they immediately condeſcended to accept the Terms impoſed on them; becauſe *Hegelochus*, whom *Alexander* had order'd to refit the Fleet, had not yet got ſo many Ships ready, as could give them any hopes of ſpeedy Succour; for which Reaſon they were induced to a Compliance, rather out of Fear than Good-will. In the mean time, *Proteas* the Son of *Andronicus* (having gather'd together as many long Ships from *Eubœa* and *Peloponneſus*, by *Antipater*'s Order, as at leaſt to ſecure the *Grecian* Coaſts and Iſlands from Inſults of the Barbarians) upon Advice that *Datames*, with his ten Ships, had choſen the River *Syphnus* for his Station, ſail'd with fifteen Ships to *Chalcis*, ſeated on the *Euripus*; and early the next Morning to the Iſland *Cythnus*, where he ſpent the reſt of the Day in receiving more certain Information of the Place, where the Enemies Ships lay, and at the ſame time reſolved to attack them by Night, that he might ſtrike the *Phœnicians* with more Terror: and when he was fully aſſured, that the Enemy was at the Mouth of the River *Syphnus*, he ſail'd thither by Night, and as the Dawn appeared, attack'd them furiouſly, when they leaſt expected it, and ſoon made himſelf Maſter of eight of thoſe Ships of Force. But *Datames*, with the other two, eſcaping, at the beginning of the Fight, made the beſt of his Way to the reſt of the Fleet.

CHAP. III.

AS ſoon as *Alexander* arrived at *Gordium*, and had enter'd the Caſtle, wherein the Palace of *Gordius*, and his Son *Midas*, had ſtood, he diſcover'd his Ambition of ſeeing *Gordius*'s Chariot, and the Knot which was reported to have been made in the Harneſs thereof; for ſtrange Stories had been told concerning it, among the neighbouring Inhabitants. This [1] *Gordius*, as the Story goes, was a Man of ſlender Fortune among the antient *Phrygians*, who had a ſmall Piece of Land, and two Yoke of Oxen, one of which he employ'd in the Plough, and the other in the Waggon; and that on a certain Day, while he was ploughing, an Eagle alighted upon the Yoke, and there reſted till the Evening. He, terrified at the Sight, haſted to conſult the *Telmiſſean* Augurs in that Caſe, (for the Art of Divination was common to all that People, even to the Women, and Children, ſo that it was, in a manner, hereditary) and when he arrived at a certain Village in that Country, he met a Virgin going to a Fountain, who foretold what ſhould happen to him, and ordered him (as ſhe was of the *Telmiſſean* Progeny) to return to his Field, and there offer Sacrifice to *Jupiter*. *Gordius*, on the other hand, intreated her to accompany him thither, to teach him after what Manner the Sacrifice

[1] The whole Story of *Gordius*, from *Arrian*, *Freinſhemius* has inſerted in his Notes, as an Explanation to *Curtius*, *lib.* iii. *c.* 1, 14. *Ed. Var.* for he trifles away ſo much Time in an unneceſſary Deſcription of the City *Gordium*, that he omits what would have been of much greater Uſe.

ſhould

ſhould be performed. He, thus inſtructed by the Virgin, took her to Wife, and ſhe bore him a Son named *Midas*, who, when he arrived at Manhood, was both beautiful and valiant. The *Phrygians* were at that Time harraſs'd with a cruel Sedition, and going to conſult the Oracle, were told, that a Chariot ſhould bring them a King, who ſhould quell their Sedition. Whilſt they were yet buſy in offering their Conjectures about this Anſwer, *Midas* arrived, with his Father and Mother, and appear'd ſuddenly, in his Chariot, before the Council. They, hereupon, interpreting the Anſwer to relate to him, as the Man whom the God had told them ſhould come thither in a Chariot, made him their King. Their Seditions he appeaſed, and conſecrated his Father's Chariot to *Jupiter* the King, by hanging it up in his Palace, as an Offering of Thanks for the Eagle (the Bird of *Jupiter*) ſent to his Father, by which he received the Kingdom. This was alſo reported concerning the Chariot, That whoſoever could unty the Knot, whereby it hung, ſhould obtain the Sovereignty over all *Aſia*. The Cord in which this Knot was tied, was compoſed of the inner Rind of the Corneil Tree, and no Eye could perceive where it had been begun or ended. *Alexander*, when he could find no poſſible Way of untying it, and yet was unwilling to leave it tied, leſt it ſhould cauſe ſome Fears to ariſe in the Hearts of his Soldiers, is ſaid [2] by ſome, to have cut the Cords with his Sword, and affirm'd that the Knot was untied. But *Ariſtobulus* aſſures us, that he wreſted

[2] *Curtius* is one of thoſe who affirm, that *Alexander* cut the Cords with his Sword, *lib.* iii. *cap.* 1, 18. *Arrian* gives us both Stories, and leaves us at liberty to chuſe for ourſelves. The latter, as being delivered by one of *Alexander*'s Followers, who was preſent, ſeems the more probable. *Plutarch* alſo, in his Account of the Life of *Alexander*, ſubſcribes to this Opinion. *Vide Vit. Alex. Greece, p.* 1236.

a wooden Pin out of the Beam of the Waggon, which being driven in acroſs the Beam, held it up, and ſo took the Yoke from it. How the Knot was looſed by *Alexander*, I dare not affirm; however, he and his Followers departed fully ſatisfied, as if the Prophecy concerning the Solution thereof had been fulfill'd: and the Thunder and Lightning, which happen'd the following Night, confirm'd their Opinion; for which Reaſon, the next Day, he offered Sacrifice to the Gods, who had aſſured him, by Prodigies, not only that the Oracle's Reſponſe was fully accompliſhed, but alſo that the *Gordian* Knot was truly untied.

CHAP. IV.

ALEXANDER, the next Day, arrived at [1] *Ancyra*, a City of *Galatia*, whither Embaſſadors came to him from [2] *Paphlagonia*, requeſting his Friendſhip, and promiſing to ſurrender their Province to him, on Condition that his Army ſhould not enter their Borders: To which he agreed; and thereupon deputed *Calas*, Preſident of *Phrygia*, their Governor. Thence marching into [3] *Cappadocia*, he ſubdued all the Country on this Side the River *Halys*, and a great Part beyond it; and hav-

[1] *Raderus* has committed a Miſtake here, by calling *Ancyra* a City of *Calabria*, inſtead of *Galatia*, unleſs it be an Error of the Preſs. See his Notes to *Curt. lib.* iii. *cap.* 1. *Edit. Var.*

[2] *Paphlagonia* is bounded towards the South by *Galatia*, Weſtward by *Bithynia*, towards the North by the *Euxine* Sea, and Eaſtward by *Cappadocia*.

[3] *Cappadocia* is bounded Weſtward by *Galatia* and *Lycaonia*, on the South by *Cilicia*, on the Eaſt by *Euphrates*, and Northward by the *Euxine* Sea.

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ing appointed [4] *Sabictas* to preſide over *Cappadocia*, he proceeded to the Streights, which open into *Cilicia*: and when he approach'd the Place which is call'd the [5] *Camp* of *Cyrus*, under whom *Xenophon* the famous Captain ſerved, and ſaw thoſe Streights already poſſeſs'd by a Party of ſtout Soldiers, leaving *Parmenio* there, with the heavy-arm'd Cohorts of Foot, He, in the firſt Watch of the Night, march'd with his Targeteers, and Archers and *Agrians*, to the [6] Streights, with a Deſign to ſurprize the Enemy. But tho' he could not attack them unprepared, as he intended, yet the very Attempt gain'd him his End; for the Enemy appointed to guard the Paſs, being inform'd of his Approach, quitted their Poſts and fled. The next Morning therefore, having paſs'd theſe Streights with his whole Army, he deſcended into *Cilicia*. Here, he received Information, that [7] *Arſames*, whom *Darius* had

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[4] *Curtius*, *lib.* iii. *cap.* 4. *Edit. Var.* calls him *Abiſtamanes*, tho' *Freinſhemius* aſſures us, ſome Copies have it *Hiſtamenes*, and *Aldus*'s Edition *Ariſtamenes*; from whence we may eaſily gather, that there muſt be an Error. However he ſays, *Arrian* calls him *Sabictas*, which Name he allows to be juſt.

[5] *Curtius* and *Arrian* differ here: *Curtius*, *lib.* iii. *cap.* 4. ſays, this Camp was ſo call'd from *Cyrus* the Greater, who took *Cræſus*. *Arrian* affirms, it received its Name from *Cyrus* the Leſs. *Cyrus* the Greater never march'd this Way againſt *Cræſus*; but the Leſſer *Cyrus* march'd from *Cappadocia* to *Cilicia*, and before he paſſed thoſe Streights, which *Alexander* here entered, pitch'd his Tents upon the Plain, as is mentioned by *Xenophon* in his Ἀναβάσεως, *lib.* i. This Camp *Strabo*, *lib.* xii. aſſures us, was diſtant from the Streights of *Cilicia* about fifty Furlongs.

[6] The Country of *Cilicia* has three memorable Streights, or Paſſes, the firſt whereof is ſo very narrow, that it is called *The Gate*: The ſecond is called the Streights of *Amanus*, and give an Entrance into *Armenia*: The third is near the Bay of *Iſſus*. *Cilicia* is bounded Weſtward by *Pamphylia*, Eaſtward by *Syria*, Southward by the Bay of *Iſſus*, and Northward by *Cappadocia*.

[7] This *Arſames* was but a ſcurvy Politician, according to all Accounts, tho' I am apt to believe *Curtius* belies him, and makes him appear worſe than he really was. He ſays, *lib.* iii. *cap.* 4.

That

had made Governor of *Tarſus*, hearing he had paſs'd the Streights, had reſolved to abandon the City, and that the Citizens were afraid he would firſt plunder it; upon which, taking with him his Horſe, and light-arm'd Foot, he uſed his utmoſt Endeavours to arrive there in Time, to ſave it. But when *Arſames* was aſſured of his coming, he immediately fled to King *Darius*, leaving the City unhurt. Here *Alexander*, according to *Ariſtobulus*'s Account, fell into a Fit of Sickneſs, by the too exceſſive Toils he underwent; tho' other Authors tell us, that while he was ſweating vehemently, with the Heat of his Journey, he caſt himſelf into the River *Cydnus*, which runs thro' the City, with a Deſign to refreſh himſelf by ſwimming. This River ariſing from the Mountain *Taurus*, flows along a fine Country, by which means its Waters are extreamly pure, and exceſſively cold. And hence *Alexander* was ſeiz'd with Pains in the Nerves, accompanied with a ſharp Fever, and a continual waking, inſomuch that when all the reſt of his Phyſicians deſpaired of his Life, *Philip* the *Acarnanian*,

" That he was Governor of *Cilicia*, and being preſent at the Battle " of *Granicus*, and hearing *Memnon*'s Advice to lay the Country " waſte, and thereby ſtop *Alexander*'s further Progreſs, was reſolved " to put it in Execution in his Province, and did ſo, laying all *Ci-* " *licia* waſte with Fire and Sword, in ſuch a Manner, as to leave " nothing but the bare Ground for the Enemy, *&c.*" He afterwards tells us, " He ſet fire to *Tarſus*, leſt ſuch a rich City ſhould " fall into the Enemies Hands, *&c.*" —— A great part of this is hardly credible; for in the firſt place, had he laid all the Country waſte, it muſt have given *Alexander* a great deal of Trouble, to provide Forage, and Neceſſaries for his Army, in his Paſſage thro' it, which we no where find it did. And ſecondly, *Arrian* aſſures us, that *Tarſus*, the capital City, was not ſo much as touch'd, when *Alexander* enter'd it, only the Citizens were afraid of being plunder'd by the *Perſians*, when they abandoned it; and therefore, in all probability, they diſpatch'd ſome Meſſengers to him, to intreat him to haſten his March thither, and ſave them. This *Arſames* is call'd *Arſanes* by *Curtius*; but he was a ſorry Commander, and any Name was good enough for him.

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in whoſe extraordinary Skill in Phyſick, he had great Confidence, becauſe of his Succeſs in the Camp, was ordered to adminiſter a Draught to him. After theſe Orders were given, while he was preparing the Cup, came a Letter from [8] *Parmenio* to *Alexander*, warning him to beware of *Philip*, for that he had heard, how *Philip* had been bribed by *Darius* to poiſon him. *Alexander* having read the Letter, took the Cup, wherein was the Potion, in his Hand, and gave *Philip* the Letter to read; and, while He was reading, he drunk up the Draught; the Phyſician ſhewing, by the Compoſure of his Countenance, that the Medicine was inoffenſive, and by his Intrepidity on peruſing the Letter, that he was not conſcious of any Crime, that he had been guilty of, only intreated *Alexander* to acquieſce in his Advice, in what he ſhould preſcribe for the future; which if he did, he would recover his Health. After his Diſeaſe had left him, he declared his Eſteem for *Philip*, by aſſuring him, that he ſhould always have a Share in his Friendſhip; and certified to all, who were preſent, how ſteady an Opinion he retain'd of their Loyalty, in refuſing to entertain any Suſpicions to the contrary; as alſo, that he could meet Death with a true heroic Magnanimity.

CHAP. V.

PARMENIO was then diſpatch'd to ſeize the Streights which divide *Cilicia* from *Aſſyria*, and to keep Poſſeſſion thereof; and with him, the

[8] *Seneca* ſays, this Letter was not ſent from *Parmenio*, but from his Mother *Olympias*. See his Book *De Ira, lib.* ii. 23. But in this, he contradicts every body, and will hardly gain Credit.

auxiliary

auxiliary Troops of Foot, the mercenary *Greeks*, and *Thracians*, commanded by *Sitalces*, as alſo the *Theſſalian* Horſe. He afterwards followed him from *Tarſus*, and in his firſt Day's March arrived at *Anchialos*. This City is ſaid to have been built by *Sardanapalus* King of *Aſſyria*; and indeed the vaſt Circuit thereof, and the Foundations of the antient Walls, ſhew that it has been a ſtately, flouriſhing, and populous City. The Tomb of *Sardanapalus* was nigh the Walls, on the Top whereof was his Statue, ſeeming to clap his Hands for Joy. The Inſcription thereof was formerly wrote in the *Aſſyrian* Language, and (as the Inhabitants thereabouts report) in Verſe, the Subſtance of which was this; Sardanapalus *the Son of* Anacyndaraxas, *built* Anchialus *and* Tarſus *in one Day. As for thee, O Traveller, Eat, Drink, Play, for all other human Things do not deſerve this:* alluding to the Joy ſignified by the clapping of his Hands. But the Word ΠΑΙΖΕ, is ſaid in the Original to contain a much more effeminate and laſcivious Meaning. From *Anchialus*, *Alexander* haſted to *Soli*, in which City having placed a Garriſon, he exacted Two hundred Talents of Silver from the Inhabitants, becauſe they ſeem'd to incline moſt to the *Perſian* Intereſt. Afterwards, with three Troops of *Macedonian* Foot, and all his Archers, and *Agrians*, encountering the *Cilicians*, who had ſeiz'd the Paſſes thro' the Mountains, in the ſpace of ſeven Days, partly by Force, and partly by Compoſition, he reduced them all to his Obedience, and then returned to *Soli*. Here he received Intelligence, that [1] *Orontobates* the *Perſian*,

[1] *Curtius* gives us but a lame Account of this; he only tells us, that *Alexander* here received a Meſſage, that his Men had defeated the *Perſians*, and that the *Myndians* and *Caunians* were brought under. See *lib.* iii. *cap.* 7. But who were the Commanders of each Party he mentions not: he alſo gives us no Account of his paſſing thro'

ſian, (who had held the Government of the Caſtle of *Halicarnaſſus*, and [2] *Myndus*, and *Caunus*, and *Theras*, and *Callipolis*, againſt him) had received an Overthrow by *Ptolomey* and *Aſander*; and that the Iſland *Cos*, and *Triopium*, had declared for the Conquerors. The Battle was bloody; about Seven hundred *Perſian* Foot, and Fifty of their Horſe being ſlain, and not fewer than a Thouſand taken Priſoners. While *Alexander* lay at *Soli*, he ſacrificed to [3] *Æſculapius*, for the Recovery of his Health; himſelf and all his Army walking in Proceſſion, with lighted Torches in their Hands. He alſo exhibited [4] *Gymnick* and *Muſical* Exerciſes; and allowed the Citizens to change their Government into a Popular State. Thence taking his Rout towards *Tarſus*, (and giving *Philotas* Orders to march thro' the Country of *Aleius*, as far as the River *Pyramus*) with his Foot, and Royal Cohort, he arrived at *Megarſus*, where he offered Sacrifice to *Minerva* of *Megarſus*. Thence moving to *Mallos*, he ſacrificed to [5] *Amphilochus*, as a Hero; and

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thro' *Anchialos*; and he makes him ſpend his Time at *Soli*, in exhibiting Shows, and ſacrificing; whereas *Arrian* aſſures us, he made an Excurſion into the Country, and reduced the mountainous Part of *Cilicia*, and then returned to *Soli*.

[2] *Alexander* attempted *Myndus*, when he laid Siege to *Halicarnaſſus*, but without Succeſs. *Myndus*, *Caunus*, *Theras*, and *Callipolis*, are all Cities in *Caria*; and *Cos* an Iſland adjacent to the Coaſt of that Province.

[3] *Curtius*, *lib.* iii. *cap.* 7. tells us, he exhibited certain Shows to the Honour of *Æſculapius* and *Minerva*; but leaves us to gueſs the reſt.

[4] *Gymnick* and *Muſical* Exerciſes, or Sports, are ſo often mentioned in this Work, that it may not be improper to explain them. *Gymnick* Sports were ſo call'd, becauſe they were performed naked: They were chiefly Running, Leaping, Quoiting, Wreſtling, and Boxing. The *Muſical* Sports, were performed in Honour of the Muſes; ſuch were Comedies, Tragedies, Satires, and all that were Theatrical.

[5] The Reaſon why *Alexander* ſacrificed to *Amphilochus* at *Mallos*, was, becauſe he was the Founder of their City. See *Strabo*, *lib.* xiv. *p.* 993. *Edit. Caſaub.*

having

having quell'd a Sedition among the Citizens, he releaſed them from the Tribute which they had formerly paid to *Darius*, becauſe the Inhabitants of that City were a Colony of *Argives*; and he himſelf deduced his Pedigree from *Hercules Argivus*.

CHAP. VI.

WHILE *Alexander* continued at *Mallos*, News was brought him, that *Darius*, with his whole Army, lay encamp'd at [1] *Sochos*, a Place in *Aſſyria*, about two Days Journey from the Streights before-mentioned. Whereupon, having call'd together a Council of his Friends, he declared what had been related to him concerning *Darius* and his Forces; and they immediately requeſted to be led thither againſt them. Hereupon he diſmiſs'd the Council, with due Praiſes of their Valour; and, the next Day, ſet forwards with his Army, and having paſs'd the *Perſian* Streights, the Day after, he pitch'd his Tents before the City *Myriandrus*. But a huge Tempeſt ariſing, that Night, and a prodigious Quantity of Rain falling, ſo annoy'd his Forces, that he continued ſtill in the ſame Place. *Darius*, in the mean time, had choſe a fit Place for his Army to encamp in, being a large Plain, every way open, and exceedingly commodious for ſo great a Force, eſpecially where the Horſe made up ſo conſiderable a Part of the Army: And *Amyntas* the Son of *Antiochus*, a Deſerter from *Alexander*, perſuaded him

[1] This *Sochos* is thought to be the ſame Place, which *Curtius* calls *Unchos*, or *Orchas*, *lib.* iv. *cap.* 1. It is about the mid-way between *Iſſus* and *Thapſacus*, being two Days Journey from each.

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by all means, to remain there; and aſſured him, that that Place, conſidering the Multitudes of their Friends, and the vaſt Quantity of their Baggage, was the fitteſt imaginable: And *Darius* accordingly remained there for ſome time. But *Alexander*'s long Stay at *Tarſus*, by reaſon of his Sickneſs; and at *Soli*, where he exhibited Shows, and offered Sacrifices; beſides the Time he ſpent in ſubduing the *Cilicians*, who had poſſeſs'd the Paſſes, drove *Darius* entirely from his Reſolutions: and indeed, ſuch was his Nature, that he was eaſily induced to believe that Truth, which he wiſh'd to be ſo; and was, then eſpecially, influenced by thoſe who conſulted not ſo much what would be profitable, as what was pleaſant to him. Thoſe Sycophants (the moſt certain Bane of all Kingdoms) perſuaded him, that *Alexander*, upon Advice of his Approach, at the Head of ſuch a numerous Army, durſt not proceed any further. And their common Diſcourſe, throughout the Camp, was, That *Darius*'s Horſe alone, would be ſufficient to trample the whole *Macedonian* Army under Foot. Notwithſtanding this, *Amyntas* always affirm'd, that *Alexander* would certainly come to any Place, where-ever he heard *Darius* lay encamp'd; and perſuaded him, by all means, to continue there, and wait his Approach. But worſe Advice, proving more grateful to the King's Ears, prevail'd. And whether it was ſome God, or Fortune which drew him out, moſt certain it is, he afterwards choſe an unfit Place, where his Horſe could neither be of much Service to him, nor the numerous Multitude of his Darters and Archers contribute to his Safety; nor, indeed, had he ſo much as an Opportunity to ſhow the Magnificence of his Army; but afforded *Alexander* a cheap and eaſy Victory. And it was, undoubtedly, decreed by Fate, that the *Perſians* ſhould be deprived of the Empire of *Aſia* by the *Macedonians*,

as the *Medes* had been by the *Perſians*, and the *Aſſyrians* heretofore by the *Medes*.

CHAP. VII.

DARIUS, having already paſs'd by the Mountain, which is near the Streights of *Amanus*, directed his March towards *Iſſus*, not knowing that *Alexander* was now behind him. Having taken *Iſſus*, as many *Macedonians* as had been left there by *Alexander*, for the Recovery of their Health, were firſt cruelly handled, and afterwards ſlain. The Day after, he proceeded to the River [1] *Pinarus*. So ſoon as [2] *Alexander* heard that *Darius* was left behind him, becauſe he could not believe the News, he diſpatch'd ſome of his Friends, in a Ship with thirty Oars, towards *Iſſus*, to inquire into the Truth of the Story; who going accordingly on board, (as the Sea on that Coaſt terminates in a large Bay) they ſoon perceived where the *Perſians* had pitch'd their Tents; and accordingly acquainted *Alexander*, that *Darius* was now in his Hands. He, calling a Council of all his Captains of Cohorts, and Troops, and the Prefects of his Auxiliaries, [3] adviſed them to be of good Courage, to remember what

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[1] *Plutarch*, by a Miſtake of himſelf, or his Tranſcribers, calls this River *Pindarus*, againſt the Teſtimony of all other Writers. See *Vita Alex. p.* 1239.

[2] *Curtius* omits this Circumſtance of the two Armies paſſing by each other, which makes his Deſcription of the Diſpoſition of them afterwards, unintelligible. See more of this in the Criticiſm prefix'd to this Work.

[3] See the Difference between *Alexander*'s Speech here, and that, on the ſame Occaſion, in *Curtius*, *lib.* iii. *cap.* 10. Both of them were undoubtedly made by the ſeveral Authors, without *Alexander*'s Privity

what great and glorious Actions they had already performed, and to conſider that this Battle would be no more, than for them, who were ever Conquerors, to fight againſt thoſe who were always beaten; that the Gods muſt certainly declare for them, againſt *Darius*; who had been ſo far infatuated, as to move his Army from that ſpacious Plain, into theſe Streights, where the *Macedonians* had Room enough commodiouſly to form their Phalanx, but where the vaſt Multitude of their Enemies would be altogether unſerviceable. He added, That thoſe with whom they were now to fight, were neither equal to them in Strength, nor Valour; that the *Macedonians* were to encounter with the *Medes* and *Perſians*, Nations which had been enervated by long Eaſe and Effeminacy; whereas they

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Privity or Conſent. They knew not what he ſaid, and therefore only gueſs'd what he might have ſaid, or wrote what themſelves would have ſaid, on the like Occaſion. His Speech, in *Curtius*, is ſo romantick, that the very reciting it will be ſufficient to expoſe it. He tells his Soldiers, "That their Valour, which, with his "Conduct, had gain'd ſo many Victories in *Europe*, he hoped they "had brought with them, in order to conquer *Aſia*:—And then he promiſes them, "That they ſhall extend their Conqueſts beyond "the Bounds of *Hercules* and *Bacchus*, and never reſt till they had "brought the whole World under Subjection: Theirs ſhould be "the Countries of the *Bactrians*, and *Indians*; to which all they "had gain'd already, was in Compariſon as nothing, *&c.*"——*Alexander* had indeed paſs'd the *Helleſpont*, and got ſome Footing upon the Continent of *Aſia*: He had alſo gain'd ſome Reputation by the Battle at *Granicus*. But what was all this, to induce him to talk of *Bacchus*' and *Hercules*'s Bounds? I dare verily affirm, no ſuch Thought once enter'd his Head, at that Time: and how a dreaming Rhetorician could make him talk ſo wildly, is hard to determine. Beſides, the Fable of *Bacchus*' and *Hercules*'s Bounds Eaſtward, was of a much later Date, and owes its Riſe to ſome Sycophants in *Alexander*'s Army, as *Eratoſthenes* has made appear, beyond Contradiction. See *Strabo, lib.* xi. *p.* 771. *Caſaub.* and *Arrian, lib.* v. *cap.* 1, *&c.* But the merrieſt part of his Speech is, *Illos terrarum Orbis Liberatores, non Perſis modo, ſed etiam omnibus Gentibus impoſituros Jugum*: "They, the Aſſertors of the World's "Liberty, ſhould not only lay their Yoke of Bondage on the "*Perſians*, but all other Nations upon Earth."

had been inured to warlike Toils, and well exerciſed to undergo all Difficulties with a becoming Bravery: Beſides, they being a free People, were to attack a Nation of Slaves; and even the *Greeks* who were in the two Armies, were to fight on Terms vaſtly different; thoſe of *Darius*'s Party, for Hire, and that, ſmall and inconſiderable; but thoſe of his, freely and voluntarily engaged themſelves, for the ſake of Glory, and their Country: That the *Thracians*, *Pæonians*, *Illyrians*, and *Agrians*, the ſtouteſt and moſt warlike Nations in *Europe*, were about to meet the wanton, the luxurious, and effeminate *Aſiatics*: And laſtly, That *Alexander* was to lead an Army againſt *Darius*. Thus far he proceeded, that the *Macedonians*, and other Nations, which compoſed his Hoſt, might know how much they ſurpaſs'd their Enemies in heroic Exploits. He then begun to expatiate upon the Greatneſs of the Rewards they were to receive from that Day's Action, by telling them, they were not only to overcome the Nobles of *Darius* in that Conflict, nor that Party of Horſe which ſtood poſted on the Banks of the River *Granicus*, nor Twenty thouſand mercenary Soldiers; but the whole Body of the *Perſian* and *Median* Empires, and what other Nations ſoever have bowed to their Power, throughout all *Aſia*: and that when they had ſubdued ſo great a King, in one Battle, nothing would hinder them from taking Poſſeſſion of all *Aſia*, and putting, at once, a happy End to all their Labours. He then recited the glorious Acts, which they had already done, in a Confederate Body; and withal aſſured them, that if any ſingle Perſon among them, perform'd a gallant Action, he would call him out by Name, and make a ſuitable mention thereof; and at the ſame time, declared his own Contempt of Danger in War, to ſtir up others by his Example. He forgot not, on this Occaſion, to mention the Story of *Xenophon*, and the Ten thouſand Soldiers

diers his Followers, who were (as he ſaid) neither equal to his Troops, in Number, nor, on any other Account, to be compared to them, there being neither *Theſſalians*, nor *Bœotians*, nor *Peloponneſians*, nor *Macedonians*, nor *Thracians*, nor any other Body of Horſe, in their whole Army, neither had they any Archers, nor Slingers, except a few *Cretans* and *Rhodians*, whom *Xenophon* had haſtily levied, in the very Face of Danger. And yet even thoſe, chaſed a mighty Monarch, with his whole Army, from before the Walls of *Babylon*, and ſubdued all the Nations, which lay in their Way, from thence to the *Euxine* Sea. He alſo added ſeveral other Arguments, ſuch as were fit for a great Commander, in order to inſpire a ſtout and gallant Army with Courage, immediately before a Battle. When he had made an End, they gave their Hands to each other, and extolling their King's Words, ſuch a Heat inflamed their Minds, that they inſtantly required to be led forth againſt the Enemy.

CHAP. VIII.

ALEXANDER then gave his Soldiers a ſtrict Charge to take care of their Bodies; and having diſpatch'd ſome of his Horſe and Archers before, to clear the Road to the Streights, thro' which he was obliged to paſs, the Night following, he moved, with his whole Army, to take Poſſeſſion of them again: And this being alſo accompliſh'd, about Midnight, he order'd his Men to compoſe themſelves to Sleep, till Morning, having appointed a ſtrict Guard, where-ever it ſeem'd neceſſary. As ſoon as the Dawn appear'd, he begun to deſcend from the Hills, having ſtreighten'd his Front, by reaſon of the Narrowneſs of the Paſs. And when

the Mountains begun to open a little, he diſpoſed his Army, one part after another, into a cloſe and regular Phalanx, the Right Wing thereof extending to the Mountain, and the Left to the Sea-ſhore. The Horſe, at the ſame time, ſtanding ranged, behind the Foot. But when they arrived in an open Country, he immediately drew them up in order of Battle. In the Right Wing, towards the Mountain, he placed a Squadron of Foot, and the Targeteers, commanded by *Nicanor* the Son of *Parmenio*. Next to theſe, the Troops of *Cœnus* and *Perdiccas*; and theſe he placed ſo, as to extend to the middle Ranks of the heavy-arm'd Foot. In the Left Wing were [1] *Amyntas*', *Ptolemey*'s, and *Meleager*'s Forces. The Foot, in this Range, was commanded by *Craterus*; but the Charge of the whole Wing was given to *Parmenio*, who had ſtrict Orders not to remove from his Station on the Sea-ſhore, leſt he ſhould ſuffer the Army to be ſurrounded by the *Barbarians*, who were much ſuperior to the *Macedonians* in Numbers. *Darius*, as ſoon as he was certified of *Alexander*'s Approach with a choice Army, ordered Thirty thouſand of his Horſe, and Twenty thouſand Foot to paſs the River *Pinarus*, that the reſt might draw up the more commodiouſly: And, firſt of all, he ranged the [2] *Greek* mercenary Troops, which were heavy-arm'd, in Front, (in Number about Thirty thouſand) to oppoſe the *Macedonian* Phalanx; and on each Hand of them, ſtood Sixty thouſand of the *Cardaci*, who were alſo heavy-arm'd, in the Form of Wings; for the Mountain being ſo near, would not ſuffer more Troops

[1] *Curtius* erroneouſly places *Amyntas*', *Ptolemey*'s, and *Meleager*'s Troops on the Right Wing, and leaves none for the Left, but *Craterus*'s Foot, and the *Peloponneſian* Horſe. See *lib.* iii. *cap.* 9.

[2] Thoſe Troops of mercenary *Grecians*, were under the Command of *Thymondas* the Son of *Mentor*; and in them, the chief Strength of *Darius*'s Army lay.

to

to ſtand ranged in Front. On the Left Hand, towards the Mountain, facing *Alexander*'s Right Wing, he placed Twenty thouſand, and ſome of thoſe extended even to the Backs of the *Macedonians*; for the Mountain under which the Army was drawn up, ſloaping a great way inward, form'd a kind of a Bay, or hollow Part, like thoſe made by the Sea on the Shore; and after that, winding forwards, was the Cauſe that thoſe who were poſted at the Foot thereof, beheld the Backs of *Alexander*'s Right Wing. The remaining Multitude of *Darius*'s Soldiers, as well light, as heavy-arm'd, (according to the Difference of Nations, whereof they were compoſed) were reduced into cloſe and unſerviceable Orders, and placed behind the *Greek* Mercenaries; and the Phalanx of *Barbarians*, and the whole Number of *Darius*'s Forces there, is ſaid to have amounted to Six hundred thouſand. As ſoon as ever *Alexander* ſaw the narrow Paſſage open, he drew up his Horſe in Order, as well his own Royal Cohort, as the *Theſſalians*, and *Macedonians*; and thoſe he placed on the Right Wing, near his Perſon. The *Peloponneſians*, and the reſt, he diſpatch'd to the Left Wing to *Parmenio*. When *Darius* had ordered his Army, the Horſe which he had, before, commanded to paſs the River, he ſuddenly recalled, and poſted the greateſt part of them on the Right Wing, towards the Sea, againſt *Parmenio*; becauſe they were of moſt Uſe there: the reſt, he ordered to the Left, at the Foot of the Mountain. But when he perceived they could not be ſerviceable there, by reaſon of the Narrowneſs of the Place, he commanded many of them to go and ſtrengthen their Companions on the Right Wing. *Darius*, obſerving the antient and eſtabliſhed Rule of the *Perſian* Monarchs, kept the main Body; the Reaſon of which Cuſtom is given us by *Xenophon* the Son of *Gryllus*.

CHAP. IX.

IN [t] the mean while, *Alexander* perceiving almoſt all the *Perſian* Horſe drawn up againſt his Left Wing, on the Sea-ſhore, and conſidering, that only the *Peloponneſian*, and part of the Royal Cohort of Horſe, were poſted there, he immediately diſpatch'd the *Theſſalian* Horſe thither, with Orders that they ſhould convey themſelves to that Poſt, as ſecretly as they could, to prevent the Enemies from diſcovering their March. In their Places, on the Right Wing, he appointed thoſe Horſe which had uſually made up the forlorn Hope, commanded by *Protomachus*, and the *Pæonians* by *Ariſton*, and among the Foot, the Archers headed by *Antiochus*, and the *Agrians* by *Attalus*, beſides ſome Troops of Horſe and Archers, which he placed in the very Turning, with their Faces towards the Mountain:

[t] *Freinſhemius*, who has done *Curtius* the greateſt Juſtice of any of his Commentators, tells us plainly, that his Deſcriptions of the Diſpoſitions of Battles are ſo confuſed, that he knows not what to make of them; for which Reaſon, he prefers *Arrian*, eſpecially in that reſpect, infinitely before him. And if any, ſays he, imagin I injure *Curtius*, in this Particular, let him ſatisfy me what he can mean by this Paſſage; "The Right Wing of *Alexander*'s Army "was, by this Time, almoſt encompaſs'd by the Enemy, but that "he commanded two Regiments of Horſe to the Top of the Hill, "and the reſt into the Heat of the Fight." *Alexander*'s Right Wing had poſſeſs'd themſelves of the Hill before; for which Reaſon, they could not be ſurrounded; neither could his Left Wing, for they were extended to the Sea-ſhore. He has ſhew'd us three or four Inconſiſtencies more, which my Brevity will not ſuffer me to point out: And after *Freinſhemius* has tranſcribed *Arrian*'s whole Deſcription of the Diſpoſition of both Armies, he concludes thus; "How much juſter, better, and more accurately, has *Arrian* de"ſcribed all theſe things?" See *Freinſh.* Comm. on *Curtius*, *lib.* iii. *cap.* 11, *num.* 2.

So

So that thoſe who made up the Right Part of the Phalanx were divided into two Wings, the one fronting *Darius* and the *Perſians*, on the other Side of the River; the other oppoſite, who ſtood with their Backs towards the Mountain. On the Left Side, he placed the *Cretan* and *Thracian* Archers, commanded by *Sitalces*, and before thoſe, the Horſe which belong'd to the Right Wing; the foreign mercenary Troops being placed on the Rear. But now, perceiving the Phalanx on the Right Wing too much weakened, and imagining that the *Perſians* might eaſily ſurround it, he ordered two Troops from the main Body, the *Anthebuſian* Cohort, over which was *Peridas* the Son of *Meneſtheus*, and the *Lagæan* Cohort, commanded by *Pantordanus* the Son of *Cleander*, to wheel off ſilently to the Right. But the Archers, and part of the *Agrians*, with ſome of the *Greek* Mercenaries, he had before drawn off from the Right Wing, and placed in the Front, by which means, that Phalanx was ſtretch'd out beyond the Enemies oppoſite Wing. But as thoſe who were poſted at the Foot of the Mountain, did not attempt to deſcend, but on the contrary, when an Attack was made upon them, by a ſmall Party of Archers and *Agrians* were eaſily beat from their Station, and fled up the Side thereof; he thought thoſe whom he had placed there, might be more uſeful to ſtrengthen the Phalanx elſewhere, and that a Party of Three hundred Horſe would be ſufficient to cope with the Enemy on that Side.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

ALEXANDER having thus marſhall'd his Army, led them on ſlowly againſt the Enemy: Neither did *Darius* ſuffer his Soldiers to move from their Poſts, to meet them, but kept them on the Banks of the River, which were there, ſteep and difficult to aſcend; or where-ever the Aſcent was eaſier, he fortified the Place with a Rampart. Which was an Argument to the *Macedonians*, that He, even then, imagined himſelf a Priſoner. But after the Armies join'd Battle, *Alexander* appear'd every where, that he might encourage his Men to behave themſelves valiantly, and not only call'd to all his chief Commanders, by their ſeveral Names, and Titles, but alſo to the Tribunes, and other Officers, and even thoſe Prefects of the Mercenaries, who were either illuſtrious by Deſcent, or had made themſelves ſo, by martial Exploits. And now the Word was given, and the Cry went round, to ruſh forwards upon their Enemies: but altho' *Alexander* had *Darius*'s whole Army full in view, yet he advanced leiſurely at firſt, leſt his Phalanx, by too eager a Contention, ſhould fall into Diſorder. Nevertheleſs, when they came within the Reach of their Darts, thoſe of the Right Wing, who ſurrounded him, and afterwards He himſelf, puſh'd forwards into the River, in ſuch a manner as ſtruck a Terror into their Enemies, and, coming ſwiftly upon them, they received little Damage from their Arrows. And this ſucceeded according to *Alexander*'s Deſign; for the moment they came to Hand-Blows, the Enemies who were poſted on the Left Wing of their Army, turn'd their Backs and fled; and *Alexander* and his

his Companions obtain'd a cheap and entire Victory on that Side. But the *Greek* mercenary Troops of *Darius*'s Party, ſeeing the Right Wing of the *Macedonians* divided, (for *Alexander* ſuddenly entering the River, and encountering the *Perſians*, eaſily repuls'd them on the Part where he landed; but thoſe who followed, had not the ſame Succeſs, for being ſtopp'd by the ſteep and rugged Banks, they could ſcarce preſerve their Order of Battle) made an Attack on that Part of the Phalanx which they ſaw disjoin'd, and thence enſued a ſharp Conflict, the *Perſians* endeavouring to puſh the *Macedonians* back into the River, and (tho' many of their own Troops were now flying) to wreſt the Victory out of their Hands; and the *Macedonians*, on the other hand, ſtriving to render the Conqueſt, they had already well nigh obtain'd, compleat; and that the Glory of the Phalanx, which had, to that Time, been unſullied, and which was known to every body, ſhould not ſuffer by that Day's Action. And then happen'd a Strife between the *Grecians* and *Macedonians*, concerning the Honour of their reſpective Nations. In this Conflict with the Enemy, fell [1] *Ptolomey* the Son of *Seleucus*, after having behaved himſelf gloriouſly; and other *Macedonians* of no mean Account, to the Number of One hundred and twenty.

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[1] *Curtius* gives us no manner of Account of the Death of *Ptolemey* the Son of *Seleucus*: Theſe Hundred and twenty *Macedonians* were the Number which fell before *Alexander* attack'd the mercenary *Grecians*, but the whole Number which were ſlain in the Battle, he has no where given us.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

THE Cohorts which were poſted on the Right Wing, perceiving the *Perſians* oppoſite to them, to turn their Backs, haſted ſtraightway to attack *Darius*'s foreign [1] Mercenaries, and after an obſtinate Defence, drove them from the Banks of the River, and ſurrounding that part of the Army which had been broke, and attacking them on the oppoſite Side, they made a great Slaughter among them. But the *Perſian* Horſe which faced the *Theſſalians*, continued the Conflict a long time after the *Macedonians* had paſs'd the River, and oppoſing them with much Valour and Magnanimity,

[1] Theſe foreign mercenary Troops, *Curtius* has told us, over and over, were thoſe wherein *Darius* placed his greateſt Confidence; and he accordingly muſters them up under the Command of *Thymondas*, and poſts them in the Left Wing of his Army. But in his whole Deſcription of the Action, we have not one Word of what they either did or ſuffered, as if they had ſtood idle Spectators all the while; only at the very laſt, he condeſcends to tell us, (as a Proof of their Bravery, I ſuppoſe) "that they did not run away quite "ſo faſt as the *Perſians*." Beſides, there is ſtill another Inconſiſtency in his Story: He brings them into the Field like a parcel of Heroes, under the Conduct of *Thymondas*; but when they came to run away, or to retreat, as he terms it, *Amyntas*, a Renegado from *Alexander*, was their General.—— So that *Thymondas* muſt be made uſe of, for ſo honourable a Poſt as to lead them on, but a Renegado *Greek* was good enough to ſhew them how to run away. The Truth is, *Thymondas* might command in chief; but *Arrian* has given us the Names of many others, who commanded particular Troops of them, *(viz.) Amyntas* the Son of *Antiochus*, *Ariſtomedes* the *Pherean*, *Bianor* the *Acharnanian*, &c. They were all *Greeks*, and all Renegadoes alike, and by his forbearing to mention *Thymondas* any more, I ſhould have imagined he had been ſlain there, if *Arrian*, *lib.* ii. *cap.* 13. did not aſſure me, that He, with the other Commanders already named, fled into *Ægypt*.

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a fierce Equeſtrian Fight enſued, which continued till they received Intelligence, that *Darius* himſelf was fled, and the *Grecian* Mercenaries routed, and diſperſed by the *Macedonians.* The Overthrow of the *Perſian* Army was then perceived on all Sides; their Horſes, becauſe their Riders were heavy-arm'd, were many of them overtaken, and cut off in the Retreat, and the Riders themſelves were ſo much incommoded by the Narrowneſs of the Roads, and their own Fears, that while each endeavoured to fly ſwifter than another, they hinder'd each other, and received little leſs Loſs from their own Party, than from the Enemy, in purſuit after them: The *Theſſalians*, however, followed them cloſe; and 'tis hard to determine whether their Loſs of Horſe, or Foot Forces, was greateſt, in their Flight. As ſoon as *Darius* perceived his Left Wing broke by *Alexander*, and that part of his Army diſperſed, and put to Flight, he immediately drove out of the Battle, and eſcaped [2] in a Chariot, with ſome

[2] For the Deſcription of the *Perſian* Chariots of State, ſee *Briſſon. lib.* i. *p.* 83. Here, *Curtius*, by introducing *Darius* in a Chariot, has taken an opportunity of deſcribing it at large; and he is every where fond of ſuch Deſcriptions, how little ſoever they ſuit his purpoſe. But the Misfortune is, *Curtius* has miſtaken every way; for he affirms, *lib.* iii. *cap.* 11. "That *Darius* was preſent in the "Battle, ſeated upon a high Throne, viſible to both Armies, *&c.*— "and that *Alexander* himſelf ſaw him.— That in the Heat of the "Fight, his Horſes, being wounded, begun to be unruly; ſo that the "Chariot in which he ſat, was ready to be overturn'd: which he "perceiving, mounted a Horſe, prepared for that purpoſe, and choſe "to throw away his Kingly Robes, and fly." *Arrian* here ſeems to intimate, that *Darius* did not fight in his Chariot, but on Horſe-back, and when he perceived the Battle loſt, he mounted a Chariot, for Flight. *Diodorus*, *lib.* xiii. *p.* 513. tells us, he moved out of one Chariot into another.— That he fled away in a Chariot is beyond all diſpute, becauſe, being forced to quit it afterwards, it was ſeiz'd by *Alexander*; and that he did not throw off his Cloak during the Fight, is as certain; for it was found in the Chariot. One Word more, as to the unweildy Chariot of State, wherein *Curtius* places him, and which, he ſays, *lib.* iii. *cap.* 3. "was adorn'd with "Images

ſome of his Nobles: And ſo far as the Country was plain and open, his Chariot convey'd him away with Eaſe and Safety; but when the Roads begun to be rough, and the Country mountainous, he quitted it, and having left therein his Shield, his Cloak, and his Bow, continued his Flight on Horſeback; and had not the Night favoured him, he had then fallen into his Enemies Hands; for whilſt it was yet Day, *Alexander* purſued hard after him, but when it was dark he returned to his Army, carrying with him the Chariot, the Shield, the Cloak, and Bow of *Darius*, which had fallen into his Hands. Beſides, *Alexander* did not attempt to purſue him, before he had ſeen the foreign Mercenaries, and the *Perſian* Horſe, diſperſed, and driven far from their Station, on the Banks of the River. Of the *Perſians* there fell *Arſames*, *Rheomithres*, and *Atizyes*, who had been Captains of Horſe in the Fight at the River *Granicus*; as alſo *Sabaces* Governor of *Ægypt*, and *Bubaces*, Men of great Account in *Perſia*; beſides a vaſt Multitude of private Men, to the number of a [3] Hundred thouſand, including Ten thouſand Horſe.

" Images of their Gods in Silver and Gold; the Axle-tree thereof " glittered with precious Stones: Upon it were two Images of " Gold, the one repreſenting *Ninus*, the other *Belus*, of a Cubit " Stature each; between them, was an Eagle of Gold, diſplaying " her Wings over both, *&c.*" This Chariot, according to the Deſcription here given, muſt be five times as heavy as my Lord Mayor's great Coach; and conſequently, an uſeleſs piece of Lumber in the Fight. However, I would gladly be inform'd what became of it after the Battle. *Curtius* makes *Darius* fly away on Horſeback: *Diodorus* moves him out of one Chariot into another: And *Arrian* poſitively tells us, that the Chariot wherein he fled out of the Battle, was taken by *Alexander*. But in all theſe Accounts, we hear never a Word of the Gold and Silver Gods, Diamonds, *&c.* nor *Belus* and *Ninus*, of a Cubit Stature each: So that we muſt either ſuppoſe them *Curtius*'s own Contrivance, or that the ſly *Macedonian* Soldiers pilfer'd them, and put them into their Pockets.

[3] *Arrian* differs but little from *Curtius* in the Number of *Perſians* ſlain in this Battle, only he includes the Ten thouſand Horſe into the Hundred thouſand which fell that Day. *Diodorus* reckons them

One

Horſe. The Slaughter was ſo great, that *Ptolomey* the Son of *Lagus* reports, that thoſe who accompanied *Alexander* in his Purſuit after *Darius*, when they came to a Ditch, fill'd it up with the dead Bodies of their Enemies, and ſo paſs'd over upon them. *Darius*'s Tent was taken at the Beginning of the Fight, and therein, his Mother, his Wife, his Siſter, and his Son, an Infant, beſides his two Daughters, with a great number of the Wives of the principal Nobility in the Army; for the other *Perſians* had diſpatch'd their Wives along with the Carriages to *Damaſcus*; whither alſo *Darius* had ſent the greateſt part of his Treaſure, and many other Things, which warlike Kings carry with them, to ſhew their Splendor and Magnificence; ſo that there was not above Three thouſand Talents found in the whole Camp. However, all the Treaſure

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One hundred and twenty thouſand Foot, and Ten thouſand Horſe. *Juſtin*, Sixty-one thouſand Foot, and Ten thouſand Horſe, beſides Forty thouſand Priſoners. *Oroſius*, Eighty thouſand Foot, and Ten thouſand Horſe, and Forty thouſand taken. *Plutarch* tells us, in one general Number, that One hundred and ten thouſand fell that Day, without making any Diſtinction; how many of them were Foot, or how many Horſe. So great a Difference there is in Authors, in this one Article. *Freinſhemius* imagines that the Number in *Juſtin* is corrupt, and that inſtead of *Unum & ſexaginta millia*, it ought to be *Centum & ſexaginta millia*; namely, One hundred and ſixty thouſand. *Curtius* tells us, there fell of the *Macedonians* no more than Thirty-two Foot, and One hundred and fifty Horſe: which is againſt all Reaſon and Probability. Sundry Criticks have been nibbling at him, and endeavouring to amend him, but I think to little purpoſe, becauſe they do it contrary to all Manuſcripts; and, as the Number of Foot Forces were generally five or ſix times as many as the Horſe, it is very reaſonable to imagine, that the Number ſlain ſhould bear ſome better Proportion to the Number brought into the Field, than Thirty-two Foot, to One hundred and fifty Horſe. However, the *Hiſtoria Miſcell.* aſſures us, it has been the Cuſtom of all antient Writers, to leſſen the Number of the Slain, on that Side which was victorious, leſt the too exact Knowledge of their Loſs ſhould eclipſe the Glory of the Victory; unleſs it happens that ſo few, in reality, fall, as to excite our Wonder at their extraordinary Valour. *Lib.* ii. *cap.* 15.

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abovementioned was, ſoon after, ſeiz'd on the Road, by *Parmenio*. This Battle was fought in the Month *Maimacterion*, when *Nicoſtratus* was Archon at *Athens*.

CHAP. XII.

THE Day after, *Alexander*, tho' ſtill indiſpoſed, by reaſon of a Hurt which he had received in his Thigh, viſited the Wounded, and having diligently ſearch'd after the Bodies of the Slain, ordered them to be ſplendidly interr'd, the whole Army ſtanding rank'd in Battle array; and at the ſame time beſtowing Praiſes on every one, whom either he had ſeen behaving themſelves gallantly in the Battle, or relating their noble Actions, from the Information of others; he alſo honour'd each of them with a Largeſs of Money, according to his Honour or Merit. After this, he conſtituted *Balacrus* the Son of *Nicanor*, one of his Body Guards, Governor of *Cilicia*, and appointed *Menetes* the Son of *Dionyſius*, to ſucceed him. The Troop of *Ptolomey* the Son of *Selcucus*, who fell in the laſt Battle, he beſtowed on *Polyſperchon* the Son of *Simmias*. The Fifty Talents which ſtill remained unpaid by the Citizens of *Soli*, he remitted, and delivered up their Hoſtages. Neither, among all this Hurry of Affairs, was he unmindful of the Mother of *Darius*, nor of his Wife, nor Children: For ſome of the Writers of *Alexander's* Life relate, that the very Night on which he returned from the Purſuit, when he enter'd into *Darius's* Tent, which had been ſeiz'd, and kept for him, he heard a Woman's Lamentation, and ſome other Noiſe, not far diſtant, and inquiring what

what Women theſe were, and why in a Tent ſo near? was immediately anſwer'd, "O King, the "Mother, and Wife, and Children of *Darius*, "being told that thou haſt taken his Cloak, his "Arms, and his Shield, pour forth their La- "mentations for *Darius*, ſuppoſing him ſlain." *Alexander* hearing this, immediately diſpatch'd [1] *Leonnatus*, one of his Friends, to them, with Orders to acquaint them, that *Darius* was ſtill alive; but that his Arms and Cloak were ſeiz'd in his Chariot, after he had quitted it, and only theſe were in *Alexander*'s Cuſtody. *Leonnatus* having enter'd the Tent, deliver'd his Meſſage, and withal told them, that *Alexander* had allow'd them to wear their Royal Apparel, to appear in State, and have the Title of Queens; and to aſſure them, that it was for no old Enmity the War againſt *Darius* was undertaken, but gloriouſly to contend for the Empire of *Aſia*. Thus *Ptolomey* and *Ariſtobulus* relate the Story. But others ſay, that *Alexander* himſelf, the next Day, enter'd the Tent, without any Attendant of Note, except his Friend *Hephæſtion*; and that *Darius*'s Mother, doubting which of them was the King, (for their Habit was much alike) went to *Hephæſtion*, and, becauſe he appear'd ſomewhat taller, fell at his Feet, and ſaluted him. But when he retired, and ſome who were nigh ſhew'd her *Alexander*, ſhe was aſhamed of her Miſtake, and endeavoured to retire: But he told her, ſhe was not miſtaken, for *Hephæſtion* was an *Alexander*. [2] This laſt Paſſage I neither relate as Truth,

[1] *Curtius*, *lib.* iii. *cap.* 12. tells us, he determined, at firſt, to have ſent *Mithrenes*, who had betrayed *Sardis* into his Hands; but conſidering, he would be look'd upon as a Traytor, and that a Meſſage by him, might add to their Grief, he ſet aſide all Thoughts of him, and diſpatch'd *Leonnatus*. *Arrian* ſays nothing of *Mithrenes*: and truly, the Story is not at all probable.

[2] This Story we have told us, for actual Truth, by *Curtius*, who mentions ſome other Circumſtances, as that when *Darius*'s Mother

Truth, nor condemn as Fiction: If it be true, *Alexander's* Pity and Indulgence uſed to the Women, and the Honour beſtowed on his Friend, deſerves the higheſt Commendation; but ſuppoſing them feign'd, and only related as Probabilities, by the Writers of thoſe Times; yet ſtill they are Actions worthy *Alexander*, and truly great, and glorious.

CHAP. XIII.

DARIUS fled away, by Night, with a few of his Friends; but in the Day-time, gathering up the *Perſians*, and foreign Mercenaries, who had eſcaped out of the Battle, amounting in all to about [1] Four thouſand; he march'd, by long Journies, to the City *Thapſacus*, on the River *Euphrates*, that he might, as ſoon as poſſible, have that River as a Barrier between him and *Alexander*. In the mean while, [2] *Amyntas* the Son of *Antiochus*, and *Thymodes*

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miſtook *Hephæſtion* for *Alexander*, ſhe was inform'd of her Error, by one of her Eunuchs, — *lib.* iii. *cap.* 12. Now, I would gladly know, how any of her Eunuchs came to be ſo much wiſer than herſelf? 'Tis much more likely, it was one of *Alexander's*, or *Hephæſtion's* Attendants, of inferior Rank. *Arrian* tells the whole, as a Story, and leaves us to our liberty, whether we will believe it or no. If it be not true, 'tis pity but it ſhould.

[1] *Curtius* erroneouſly calls all thoſe Four thouſand, *Greeks*; without taking notice of any others.

[2] Such an Air of Romance is given to this Story, by *Curtius*, *lib.* iv. *cap.* 1. that it may not be improper to let our Readers have a Taſte of it. "*Amyntas*, ſays he, who, a little before, had deſerted "*Alexander*, fled with the Four thouſand *Grecians* under his Com- "mand, to *Tripolis*; where, getting his Men on Shipboard, he paſs'd "to *Cyprus*; whence, he ſail'd again for *Ægypt*, and landing at *Pelu-* "*ſium*, ſeiz'd that Place, and march'd on to *Memphis*, many of the "*Ægyptians* coming in to him, by the Way."— He then adds, that *Amyn-*

Thymodes the Son of *Mentor*, with *Ariſtomedes* the *Pherean*, and *Bianor* the *Acarnanian*, all Deſerters, fled away from the Battle, with about Eight thouſand Men, and paſs'd thro' the mountainous Country to *Tripolis*, a City of *Phœnicia*; where ſeizing ſome Ships (newly drawn out of the Docks) wherein they had been before tranſported from *Lesbos*, as many of them as were fit for their purpoſe, they put to Sea with; the reſt they burnt in the Dock, leſt they ſhould afterwards be made uſe of by their Enemies to purſue them: with theſe, they ſail'd firſt to *Cyprus*, and afterwards to *Ægypt*, where *Amyntas*, attempting Innovations, was ſlain by the Inhabitants. *Pharnabazus* and *Autophradates* ſtaid ſome time at *Chius*; but that Iſland being ſtrengthen'd with a Garriſon, and having diſpatch'd away ſome Ships to *Coos* and *Halicarnaſſus*; they, with a Hundred Sail, well ſtored, came to *Siphnus*: Thither, *Agis* King of the *Lacedæmonians* arriving in a *Trireme*, required Money for the Uſe of the War, and as many Sea, and Land-Forces as they could ſpare, to be ſent into *Peloponneſus*. But at that very Time, arrived a Meſſenger with the News of the fatal Battle of *Iſſus*; which, ſtriking a Terror into their Minds, *Pharnabazus*, with Twelve Ships, and [3] One thouſand five hundred foreign Mercenaries, ſail'd to *Chius*, leſt the Inhabitants of that Iſland, hearing of this Defeat, ſhould attempt to

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Amyntas overcame ſome body in a Fight; but tells us neither whom, nor where the Action was. However, after this Fight, he laid Siege to *Memphis*, (and thought, no doubt, to have carried all before him) but "*Mezaces* the *Perſian* General ſallied forth upon them, and ſlew "*Amyntas*, and every one of his Soldiers."— That was clean Work, and this was either the ſharpeſt Battle that ever was fought, or *Curtius* has given us the moſt improbable Story that ever was told.

[3] *Curtius* has cut this ſhort; for he only tells us, that *Pharnabazus* raiſed Money from the *Mileſians*, and having garriſon'd *Chius*, went to *Andros*, and thence to *Syphnus*, with an Hundred Sail of Ships, *lib.* iv. *cap.* 1.

revolt. *Agis* having received from *Autophradates*, Thirty Talents of Silver, and Ten Ships, diſpatch'd theſe, by *Hippias*, to his Brother *Ageſilaus* at *Tænarus*, with Orders, that the Moment he had paid the Sailors their Arrears, he ſhould haſten into *Crete*, to ſettle the Affairs of that Iſland. He tarrying among theſe Iſlands ſome time, departed, at laſt, to *Autophradates* at *Halicarnaſſus*. In the mean time, *Alexander* appointed [4] *Menon* the Son of *Cerdimas*, to be Governor of *Cœloſyria*, and left him ſome of the auxiliary Troops of Horſe, for the Safety of the Province, while he march'd forwards into *Phœnicia*, where, by the Way, he was met by [5] *Strato* the Son of *Geroſtratus*; (this *Geroſtratus* was King of *Arados*, and all the neighbouring Iſlands, and he, with other *Phœnician* and *Cyprian* Princes, had join'd his Fleet with *Autophradates*) who, placing a Crown of Gold upon *Alexander*'s Head, ſurrender'd into his Hands, the Iſland *Arados*, and *Marathus*, a wealthy and populous City on the Continent, over-againſt it; as alſo *Mariamme*, and whatever Territories beſides, he had in Poſſeſſion.

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[4] *Curtius* has committed a ſtrange Error, here, by inſerting *Parmenio*, inſtead of *Menon*. *Arrian* tells us plainly, it was *Menon* the Son of *Cerdimas*. *Curtius*, perhaps, from the Affinity of the two Names, or perhaps from ſome corrupt Copy, has made it *Parmenio*; and to render his Error the more apparent, he has added,— "by whom the Spoil was ſeiz'd at *Damaſcus*." — *Freinſhemius* has paſs'd a vaſt Compliment, here, upon *Arrian*'s Diligence, and Sagacity, which I have not room to inſert. *Vide Curt. Snakenb. lib.* iv. *cap.* 1.

[5] This *Strato*, *Curtius* tells us, was King of *Aradus*, and all the Sea-coaſt; but he makes no mention of his Father *Geroſtratus*, who was really King, and at that time with *Autophradates* the *Perſian* Admiral. *Strato* could therefore be no more than Viceroy, in his Father's Abſence: And that the Caſe ſtood thus, is evident by what *Arrian* adds afterwards, (*viz.*) That *Geroſtratus* hearing how his Son had ſurrender'd his Territories into *Alexander*'s Hands, withdrew his Fleet from *Autophradates*, deſerted the *Perſian* Intereſt, and came and join'd his Naval Force with *Alexander*'s. See *Arrian*, *lib.* ii. *cap.* 20.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

WHILE *Alexander* remained at *Marathus*, Embaſſadors came to him with a Letter from *Darius*, who alſo intreated him by Word of Mouth, to ſet *Darius*'s Mother, and Wife, and Children at Liberty. The Letter itſelf mention'd the League which *Philip* his Father had enter'd into, with *Artaxerxes*; and that when *Arſes* the Son of *Artaxerxes*, aſcended the Throne, the ſame *Philip*, without any Damage received from the *Perſians*, or other Provocation whatſoever, had firſt of all unjuſtly invaded his Dominions; and how *Alexander*, from the Time he begun his Reign, had never ſent Embaſſadors to confirm the antient Leagues and Treaties between the two Nations; but, on the contrary, had paſs'd over into *Aſia*, with his Army, and committed numerous Depredations upon his Subjects: that he only took up Arms to defend his own Rights, and protect his Dominions; however, the Event* of the War muſt be according as the Gods had determined: in the mean time, he, a King, ſought his Wife, his Mother, and Children, from him, who was alſo a [1] King, offering to enter into Friendſhip and Alliance with him, and to that end deſired that when *Meniſcus* and *Arſimas*, his Embaſſadors, return'd, he would

[1] *Curtius* tells us, *Alexander* was grievouſly offended with *Darius*, becauſe he had not given him the Title of King: but he is herein contradicted by *Arrian*. He mentions no Particulars of *Darius*'s Letter, but only the Terms propoſed for the Reſtitution of his Mother, Wife, and Children, and they are ſo groſs, that any but a Rhetorician, would have been aſhamed to have inſerted them. *Vide Curt. lib.* iv. *cap.* 1.

ſend others with them, who might both receive the Terms propoſed, and agree to them on his part. *Alexander*, without returning any Anſwer by the Embaſſadors, order'd *Therſippus* to accompany them back again to *Darius*, and to give him a Letter; declaring at the ſame time, that he would not admit of any verbal Conference. The Letter was to this purpoſe: "Your Predeceſſors have enter'd "*Macedonia*, and the reſt of *Greece*, in an hoſtile "manner, and injured us, before they received "any Injuries from us. I, at my Advancement "to the Empire of *Greece*, willing to revenge my "Country's Wrongs upon the *Perſians*, have paſs'd "over into *Aſia*, having received ſufficient Provo-"cation from your former numerous Ravages. "You aided the *Perinthians* in their unjuſt Wars "againſt my Father; and *Ochus* tranſported an "Army of *Perſians* into *Thrace*, to diſturb the "Peace of our Government. [2] My Father was "ſlain by Traitors, whom you had hired for that "purpoſe, (as you have, every where, boaſted in "your Letters;) and at the ſame time, when you "had taken Care that *Arſes* ſhould be diſpatch'd "by *Bagoas*, you uſurped the Empire unjuſtly, "and in open Defiance of all the *Perſian* Laws. "You have, moreover, wrote Letters into *Greece*, "encouraging my Subjects to Rebellion, and to "that end have ſent Money to the *Lacedæmonians*, "and others, which nevertheleſs all the *Grecians*, "except the *Lacedæmonians*, loyally rejected; by "which means, you ſtrove to withdraw my Friends "and Followers from me, and to diſſolve that firm "League which I have enter'd into, with all the "States of *Greece*. Wherefore I have invaded thy

[2] *Alexander* here endeavours to lay his Father's Murder to the Charge of the *Perſians*; whereas He, or at leaſt his Mother *Olympias*, were vehemently ſuſpected as guilty of it. *Vide Juſtin, lib.* ix. *cap.* 7.

"Realms

"Realms in a hoſtile manner, becauſe thou waſt "the firſt Author of Hoſtilities. And now, when "I have beaten thy Governors, and Captains, and "afterwards thyſelf and thy whole Army, in a "pitch'd Battle; and have already, by the Permiſ-"ſion of the Gods, gain'd Poſſeſſion of *Aſia*; as "many of thy Soldiers as ſurrender'd themſelves "into my Hands, after the Battle, I protect; nei-"ther do they tarry with me, againſt their Inclina-"tions, but freely and voluntarily take up Arms "for my Cauſe. To me, therefore, as Lord of all "*Aſia*, come, and apply thyſelf: But if thou art "afraid of any harſh Uſage upon thy coming, ſend "ſome of thy Friends, who may take an Oath "from me for thy Safety. When thou comeſt into "my Preſence, ask for thy Mother, thy Wife, and "Children, and whatſoever thou wilt beſides, and "thou ſhall receive them; and nothing ſhall be "denied thee. However, when you write to me "next, remember to entitle me King of *Aſia*; "neither write to me any more as your Equal, but "as Lord of all your Territories. If you act other-"wiſe, I ſhall look upon it as an Indignity of the "higheſt Conſequence; and if you diſpute my Right "to the Poſſeſſion of your Realms, ſtay, and try the "Event of another Battle; but hope not any more "to ſecure yourſelf by Flight, for where-ever you "fly, thither, I will ſurely purſue you."

CHAP. XV.

AFTER *Alexander* had been inform'd, that all the Treaſure which *Darius* had ſent to *Damaſcus*, by *Cophenes* the Son of *Artabazus*, was ſeiz'd, and that the *Perſians* appointed to guard it,

and the reſt of the Royal Furniture, were taken Priſoners, he order'd them to be carried back, and kept ſafe at *Damaſcus*, by *Parmenio*. But the [1] *Grecian* Embaſſadors, who had been diſpatch'd to *Darius*, before the Battle, and were taken, he commanded to be ſent to him. Theſe were *Euthycles* the *Lacedæmonian*, *Thaliſcus* the Son of *Iſmenias*, *Dionyſodorus* the Son of *Olympionices* the *Theban*, and *Iphicrates* the Son of *Iphicrates* the General, the *Athenian*. When they were brought into his Preſence, *Theſſaliſcus* and *Dionyſodorus*, being *Thebans*, were immediately ſet at Liberty, partly out of Compaſſion to the *Thebans*, and partly becauſe they deſerved Pardon, if, after their City had been ſack'd and overthrown by the *Macedonians*, they endeavoured, in ſome meaſure, to retrieve the miſerable State of themſelves, and Country, by the Aſſiſtance of *Darius*, and the *Perſians*; for thus he ſtated the Caſe, mildly, and with great Humanity, towards both. He had, moreover, a private Value for *Theſſaliſcus*, on account of his Pedigree, (for he was deſcended from an antient *Theban* Family) for which reaſon, he diſmiſs'd him. He releaſed *Dionyſodorus*, becauſe he had been Conqueror at the *Olympick* Games; and *Iphicrates*, for the Love he bore to the *Athenians*, and the Memory of his Father's Glory, whom, whilſt he lived, he had always

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[1] *Curtius*, here, jumbles together, and confounds what happened at two different times, as is manifeſt from comparing him with *Arrian*. He ſays, *lib.* iii. *cap.* 13. "That the *Lacedæmonians* and "*Athenians*, deſirous of Change, had diſpatch'd their Embaſſadors "to the *Perſians*, whoſe Names were, *Ariſtogiton*, *Dropides*, and "*Iphicrates*, who were *Athenians*. The *Lacedæmonians* were, *Pau*"*ſippus*, *Onomaſtorides*, *Monimus*, and *Callicratides*." *Arrian* aſſures us, that the Embaſſadors taken here, were two *Thebans*, one *Lacedæmonian*, and one *Athenian*, whom he mentions by their Names; but the others whom *Curtius* talks of, (*viz.*) *Pauſippus*, *Monimus*, *Anomantus*, and *Callicratides*, were taken in the Country of the *Mardi*, after *Darius*'s Death. See *Arrian*, *lib.* iii. *cap.* 24.

highly

highly honour'd, and, after his Death, took care that his Bones ſhould be convey'd, to be interr'd among his Anceſtors at *Athens*. But *Euthycles* (as he was a *Lacedæmonian*, and that City was then at open Variance with *Alexander*; and as he could find nothing in his Character worthy of Notice) he order'd into Cuſtody, (tho' without Fetters) and afterwards, when his Affairs were crown'd with Proſperity, on all hands, he alſo ſet him at Liberty. *Alexander*, after this, departing from *Marathus*, had the City [2] *Byblus* ſurrender'd to him; as alſo the City of [3] *Sidon*; the Citizens inviting him thither, out of their Hatred to *Darius*, and the *Perſians*. Then, marching to *Tyrus*, the *Tyrian* Embaſſadors came forth to meet him, aſſuring him that the Citizens were ready to obey his Commands. He, with due Praiſes given both to the City and the Embaſſadors, (for they were ſome of the principal Citizens, and one of them the King's Son;

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[2] *Byblus*, was a City of *Phœnicia*, ſeated on the Coaſt, between *Berytus* and *Tripolis*: *Enylus* was then King thereof; but he being abſent with *Autophradates*, the Citizens ſurrender'd to *Alexander*, and ſhook off the *Perſian* Yoke.

[3] *Sidon* was the moſt antient, and illuſtrious City of all *Phœnicia*, and deſervedly renowned for the Wit and Invention of her Citizens. They firſt found out, and taught, Aſtronomy, Arithmetick, the Art of dying Purple, and making Glaſs; as alſo the manner of Sailing in the Night, by the Obſervation of the Stars. It is diſtant from *Tyre*, Two hundred Furlongs, or Twenty-five *Engliſh* Miles. Who was King of *Sidon*, *Arrian* has no where told us. *Curtius* calls him *Strato*, as he had done the King of *Aradus* before. The Story of *Abdolminus* is well known. *Arrian* either doubted the Truth thereof, or thought it not worth his Notice: But what is ſtrange, *Diodorus* and *Plutarch*, two celebrated Authors, are both miſtaken about it. *Diodorus* changes the Scene, and relates the very ſame Story, as happening at *Tyre*; which is ridiculous: for the *Tyrians* were all either ſlain in the Siege, or ſold for Slaves; and conſequently, a King would have had but a ſolitary Reign there. *Plutarch* removes the Scene ſtill further, and transfers the Story to *Paphos*, in his Treatiſe *De fortunâ Alexandri*; to confute which, it is ſufficient to aſſert, that, by the common Conſent of all Authors, *Alexander* was never there. *Vide Snakenburg. ad Curt. lib.* IV. *cap.* 1.

for

for the King [4] *Azelmicus* himſelf had embark'd, on board the Fleet, with *Autophradates)* commanded them to return, for he was determined ſhortly to enter the City, and there offer Sacrifice to *Hercules*.

CHAP. XVI.

THERE was in that City a Temple dedicated to *Hercules*, the moſt antient of all thoſe recorded in Hiſtory; not the *Grecian Hercules*, who was the Son of *Alcmena*: For this *Hercules* was worſhipped at *Tyre*, many Ages before *Cadmus* ſail'd from *Phœnicia*, and ſeiz'd *Thebes*; and long before *Semele* was born to *Cadmus*, whence came *Bacchus* the Son of *Jupiter*. For *Bacchus* was the third from *Cadmus*, *Polydorus* being his Son, and *Labdacus*, who was Cotemporary with *Cadmus*, Son to *Polydorus*. But the *Grecian Hercules* flouriſhed at the Time of *Oedipus* the Son of *Laius*. The *Ægyptians* worſhipped another *Hercules*, different from both theſe; and *Herodotus* aſſures us, he was one of their twelve Gods. The *Athenians*, in like manner, worſhipped another *Bacchus*, different from this, the Son of *Jupiter* and *Proſerpina*, and the myſtical Title of *Iacchus* belonged to this *Bacchus*, and not to the *Theban*. Nevertheleſs, the *Hercules*, worſhipped among the *Iberians*, at *Tarteſſus*, who gave Name to *Hercules*'s *Pillars*, is, in my Opinion, the ſame with the *Tyrian*: for *Tarteſſus* was built by the *Phœnicians*, and a Temple was

[4] *Curtius* ſeems not ſo much as to dream of a King of *Tyre*; but talks of the Citizens, all along, as if they had been a Commonwealth. However, *Diodorus*, to make them amends, has made them a King over a Heap of Rubbiſh. See *lib.* xvii.

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rear'd there, and Sacrifices perform'd to *Hercules*, after the *Phœnician* manner. Moreover, *Hecatæus* the Hiſtorian aſſures us, that that *Geryon*, againſt whom the *Grecian Hercules* was diſpatch'd by *Euryſtheus*, to ſeize his Oxen, and bring them to *Mycene*, was no Inhabitant of *Spain*, neither was *Hercules* ſent to any Iſland call'd *Erythia*, ſeated in the Ocean; but that *Geryon* reign'd on the Continent, between *Ambracia* and *Amphilochos*; that, from thence it was, that *Hercules* drew his Oxen; and even then he deems it a prodigious Labour. I am aſſured, that, to this Day, there are rich Paſtures on that Continent, that fat Oxen are bred there, and that theſe being drawn thence by *Hercules*, the Glory of that Action was aſcribed to *Euryſtheus*; neither can I think it improbable to imagine, that a King of that Country might be named *Geryon*, eſpecially becauſe *Euryſtheus* could never be ſuppoſed ſo much as to have heard of the Name of a King of *Iberia*, the remoteſt Nation in *Europe*, much leſs, whether any fat Oxen were to be had there, unleſs ſome have a mind here to introduce the Story of *Juno*, commanding *Hercules* to perform this Task for *Euryſtheus*; which is no other than diſgracing true Hiſtory, by an unneceſſary Mixture of Fable. *Alexander* ſent word, that he would offer Sacrifice to this *Tyrian Hercules*, which when the Citizens underſtood, by their Embaſſadors, they thought fit to declare, that they were ready to perform whatever *Alexander* ſhould command them, but that none, either [1] *Grecian* or *Macedonian*, ſhould be

[1] *Azelmicus*, King of *Tyre*, was abſent, as has been already hinted, in the preceding Chapter; whereupon, the chief Citizens, or thoſe on whom the Regency was conferr'd, during his Abſence, diſpatch'd an Embaſſy to *Alexander*, to aſſure him of their good Wiſhes towards him; but when he ſent them word of his Deſign to enter their City, and offer Sacrifice there, they thought it would be dangerous to their Liberties to ſuffer a King, with his Army, to come within

be admitted to enter their Gates; that this (conſidering their preſent State) was the mildeſt Anſwer they ſhould ſend him, and, conſidering the Chance of War, (which was variable) the ſafeſt for themſelves. As ſoon as this Anſwer of the *Tyrians* came to *Alexander*, he commanded their Embaſſadors to return, in a great Fury; and calling a Council of his Friends, and the Generals, and Captains of his Army, he harangued them thus.

CHAP. XVII.

"I CAN, by no means, deem it ſafe for us (my "Friends and Companions) to undertake an "Expedition into *Ægypt*, while the *Perſians* have "the Sovereignty of the Sea, nor to continue our "Purſuit of *Darius*, while *Tyre* remains unſubdued, "and our Enemies have *Ægypt* and *Cyprus* in their "Poſſeſſion. This I hold dangerous, in many re"ſpects, but in none more than by reaſon of the "preſent State of *Greece*, leſt if they ſhould regain "their Sea-ports, while we are puſhing on our Con"queſts againſt *Babylon* and *Darius*; they, by the "help of their Fleet, ſhould transfer the War into "*Greece*, eſpecially, conſidering the *Lacedæmonians* "are already our open and declared Enemies, and "the *Athenians* retain their Fidelity towards us, at "this Juncture, rather out of Fear, than Love. "But when *Tyre* is taken, and all *Phœnicia* brought "into Subjection, the great and mighty Force of

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within their Gates. Perhaps alſo, they might be willing to ſee the Event of the *Perſian* War, before they engaged themſelves too far, on either Side. However, this Scruple of theirs, was the Cauſe of the Deſtruction of their City.

"their

"their Navy, which the *Perſians* now enjoy, will, "in all probability, fall into our Hands. Neither "will the *Phœnicians* ſuffer either their Rowers, "or Sea-Soldiers to hazard a Naval Engagement, "for other Nations, when we are Maſters of their "Towns on the Continent. *Cyprus*, will then, either "join in Confederacy with us, or may eaſily be "reduced by a Fleet; and ſo ſcouring the Sea with "the united Force of the *Macedonians* and *Phœni-* "*cians*, and *Cyprus* being in our Hands, we ſhall "reign abſolute Sovereigns at Sea, and an eaſy "Way will be laid open for making a Deſcent upon "*Ægypt*; and when *Ægypt* is added to our Em- "pire, we ſhall then ceaſe to be ſolicitous about "the State of *Greece*, or our own domeſtick Af- "fairs: And as we may undertake the *Babylonian* "Expedition with more Security at Home, ſo we "may attempt it with much more Glory and Ho- "nour, when the *Perſians* are removed from the "Sea-coaſts, and chaſed out of all the Countries "on this Side the *Euphrates.*"

CHAP. XVIII.

BY this Speech, his Soldiers were eaſily induced to attempt the Siege of *Tyre*. But he was alſo encouraged by a [1] divine Viſion; for that very Night,

[1] Here, the Divinity is haul'd in, by Head and Shoulders, to countenance an idle Dream; and the Prieſt, as it was his Place, interprets it according to his Maſter's Fancy: However, I can give a better Solution thereof myſelf. *Alexander* had been affronted by the *Tyrians*, the Day before; and upon that, reſolved to beſiege their City: He had alſo determined to have offered Sacrifice to *Hercules*, within the City, but was denied Entrance. Full fraught with theſe Thoughts, he goes to Sleep, and as the Occurrences of the Day, or whatever

Night, as he ſeem'd to be ſcaling the *Tyrian* Walls, in a Dream, the Figure of *Hercules* reach'd forth his Right Hand to him, to draw him into the City. This was interpreted, by *Ariſtander*, to ſignify, that *Tyre* would be taken with abundance of Toil, and that the Siege thereof would be a *Herculean* Labour. And, ſurely, the Attempt itſelf ſeem'd to

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whatever lie heavy upon our Spirits, either keep us awake, or preſent themſelves to our Fancy, when aſleep, he dream'd that he was ſcaling the Walls of *Tyre*, and that *Hercules*, to whom he deſigned to have offered Sacrifice, lent him his Aſſiſtance. There is nothing in this, but what it is eaſy to account for, without Inſpiration. *Curtius* has been ſo liberal, as to give us two real Prodigies, (not dreaming ones). He tells us, *lib.* iv. *cap.* 2. that while the Smiths, in the City, were heating their Iron in their Forges, and blowing their Bellows, Streams of Blood iſſued out of the Hearth.—— This Miracle, if I miſtake not, ſmells ſtrong; and ſeems to have come out of the Prieſt's Forge, rather than the Blackſmith's.—— However, as he has given the City one Prodigy, he is not ſo niggardly, but he can ſpare the Camp another; for, as one of the Soldiers was breaking a Piece of Bread, Drops of Blood burſt forth.—— As to the poor Citizens, they had no Interpreter for theirs; *Curtius* has not been ſo kind as to afford them one; and I cannot ſpare them one: but for the Camp, *Ariſtander* was always at hand: He, out of his great Wiſdom, and profound Sagacity, inquired, firſt, "whether the Blood came from the Outſide, "or Inſide of the Bread; for if it came from the Outſide, it por- "tended Miſchief to the Camp; if from the Inſide, to the City."— Had I been to have ſolved this mighty Doubt, I ſhould have affirm'd, that the whole was a deſign'd Trick, and the Interpretation was fix'd before-hand; That if the Blood was on the Outſide, it had been daub'd there on purpoſe; and if it came from the Inſide, it was ſome red Liquor convey'd there, to flow out when the Bread ſhould be cut or broken; and that it was only a Contrivance, like all the reſt, to animate the Soldiery. *Plutarch* gives us a Dream of *Alexander's*, the Interpretation of which, depends upon a Pun in the *Greek*. "*Alexander*, he ſays, dream'd that he ſaw a Satyr mocking "him, at a Diſtance, and notwithſtanding he endeavoured to catch "him, he ſtill avoided him, till at laſt, after much Trouble, in run- "ning after him, he got him into his Power. Hereupon, the Sooth- "ſayers, ſplitting the Word Σατυρος, into two, aſſured him, it im- "ported that *Tyre* was his own."— If this was a divine Dream, the Deity was merrily diſpoſed.

M. *Dacier*, in his Notes upon this Paſſage, tells us, That *Plutarch* as firmly believed it, as if he had been there, without imagining, in the leaſt, that ſuch Dreams are forged, when the Things to which they are made to relate, are over. *Dacier's Plut. Vol.* vi. *p.* 41.

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threaten no leſs; for the City was ſeated in an Iſland, ſurrounded with ſtrong Walls. And the Naval Affairs ſeem'd, at that Time, to favour them, the *Perſians* being not only Maſters at Sea, but the Citizens themſelves having a ſtrong and powerful Fleet. Notwithſtanding theſe Difficulties, they were reſolved to try their Fortune; and accordingly, their firſt Attempt was to extend a huge Bank, or Rampart, from the Continent to the City. The Sea there is a Clay, at the Bottom, and ſhallow towards the Shore; but when you draw nigh the City, it is almoſt [2] Three Fathom deep. But as there was abundance of [3] Stone not far off, and a ſufficient Quantity of Timber and Rubbiſh, to fill up the vacant Spaces, they found no great Difficulty in laying the Foundations of their Rampart; the ſtiff Clay at the Bottom, by its own Nature, ſerving inſtead of Mortar, to bind the Stones together. The *Macedonians* ſhew'd a wonderful Forwardneſs and Alacrity to the Work; and *Alexander*'s Preſence contributed not a little thereto; for he deſign'd every thing himſelf, and ſaw every thing done, and

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[2] *Curtius, lib.* iv. *cap.* 2. tells us, "the Sea which divided *Tyre* from "the Continent, was exceeding deep, *(prealtum Mare).*"— This exceeding great Depth, *Arrian* aſſures us, was no leſs than Three whole Fathoms, or Eighteen Foot, cloſe to the Walls, but nigh the Shore it was not near ſo much.

[3] The Rubbiſh of Old *Tyre*, Thirty Furlongs off, upon the Continent, *Curtius* tells us, afforded Stone enough for *Alexander* to build the Rampart, *lib.* iv. *cap.* 2. This is not improbable; but what he adds of fetching Timber from *Libanus*, muſt be a Miſtake, unleſs he means *Anti-Libanus*, which begins nigh *Sidon*; for Mount *Libanus* begins near *Tripolis*, and is further diſtant from *Tyre* than *Anti-Libanus*, by the whole Breadth of *Cœloſyria*. However, it ſeems *Alexander*'s Soldiers deem'd the raiſing this Rampart an impoſſible Work; for *Curtius* aſſures us, "it was their Opinion, that the deep "Sea could not be fill'd up but by a Miracle, and over which, a "whole Province could ſcarce find Wood enough for a Bridge, or "Stones enough to fill it up."— It had been done before by *Nebuchadnezar*, *Ezek.* xxi. 18. without a Miracle; and the ſame Trouble, admitting no greater Oppoſition, would do it again.

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encouraged ſome, who ſeem'd to ſlacken in their Work, and commended others, who proceeded in theirs, with Vigour, and were ambitious of excelling their Fellows. And indeed, ſo long as the Work was not far off the Continent, it went on, with a more than ordinary Speed; for they built the Mole in a ſmall Depth of Water, and proceeded without Oppoſition: But when they came to a greater Depth, and approach'd nearer the City, they were gall'd with Darts, and other miſſive Weapons, from the high Walls, and ſuſtain'd much Loſs; being prepared rather for Work than Battle. The *Tyrians*, beſides this, vexing them, on all hands, from their Ships, (for the Sea was yet open) made the mighty Work go on ſlowly, and with great Danger to the *Macedonians*. To prevent this, *Alexander* erected two wooden Towers on the [4] Rampart, where it was furtheſt extended into the Sea, and planted his Engines in them. Their Covering was of Leather, and raw Hides, ſo that they could not be burnt by fiery miſſive Weapons from the Walls, and might, at the ſame time, preſerve the Workmen from their Darts; and not only this, but as often as the *Tyrians* gave them any Diſturbance, from their Ships, they might beat them back from thoſe Towers.

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[4] The Height of this Rampart, *Curtius* ſays, was like that of a Mountain. This is much like his other Hyperbole, of an exceeding deep Sea, where Three Fathom of Line would hardly reach the Bottom. A Mole or Rampart, Two or Three Foot above the Surface of the Water, was high enough. Now what a marvellous tall Mountain muſt this be, to exceed Twenty Foot in Height!

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

THE *Tyrians*, not to be behind-hand with their Enemies, made uſe of this Contrivance: They procured a huge [1] Hulk, or Ferry-boat, which they fill'd up with dry Twigs, and other combuſtible Stuff, and having placed two Maſts towards the Prow, and made their Piles as broad, and capacious as poſſible, they added huge Quantities of Pitch and Sulphur, and whatever was proper to raiſe a great Fire. Moreover, to each Maſt, they fix'd two Yards, at the Arms or Extremities of which, were hung Caldrons, fill'd with whatever might add to the Violence of the Flame; they afterwards fill'd the Stern, with Stones and Rubbiſh, that the Head might be raiſed the higher. Then, taking the Opportunity of a favourable Wind, blowing towards the Mole, they fix'd two *Triremes* to her, and tow'd her into the Sea. When they approach'd the Towers, at the End of the Mole, they ſet fire to the Materials on board the Hulk, which they forced forwards, to the Mole-Head, with their utmoſt Strength; and the Rowers, on board, eaſily eſcaped, by ſwimming. In the mean time, the Towers having caught Fire, begun to blaze exceedingly; and the Yards of the Hulk breaking, what-

[1] See the Deſcription of this Veſſel, in *Curtius*, *lib.* iv. *cap.* 3. He calls her a monſtrous huge Ship, and yet allows her neither Maſts, nor Yards. *Arrian* calls his, Ναῦν Ἱππαγωγὸν, a Ship deſign'd for the Conveyance of Horſes. They fix'd Maſts in her, ſuch as were fit for their purpoſe, and furniſhed her with Yards, whereat they hung two Caldrons, full of combuſtible Stuff, which falling, when the Maſts grew too weak to hold them up, increaſed the Flames exceedingly.

ever was contained in the Caldrons, which hung there, increaſed the Flames. The *Tyrians* alſo, in their *Triremes*, caſt their Darts upon the *Macedonians* in the Towers; ſo that they could not move to extinguiſh the Flames, but with the utmoſt Hazard. When the Towers had now catch'd Fire, many of the Citizens, getting on board ſmall Skiffs, attack'd the Mole in ſeveral Parts at once, and the Wall which faced the Rampart being ſoon demoliſhed, all the reſt of the Materials which the Fire from the Ships had not yet reach'd, were now conſumed. *Alexander*, upon this, laid the Foundation of a Rampart, from the Continent, much broader, and ſtronger than the former, and capable of containing more Towers; and, at the ſame time, gave Orders to his Engineers to prepare new Engines. Which, being performed, [2] he, with his Targeteers and *Agrians*, march'd to *Sidon*, with an Intent to ſeize upon all their Ships; becauſe the Siege of *Tyre* was a Matter of extream Difficulty, while the Citizens were ſo potent at Sea.

CHAP. XX.

ABOUT this Time, [1] *Geroſtratus* King of *Arados*, and *Enylus* King of *Byblus*, being aſſured that their Dominions were poſſeſs'd by *Alexander*, left

[2] *Curtius*, *lib.* iv. *cap.* 3. ſays, *Alexander* march'd into *Arabia*, (that is, againſt thoſe *Arabians* who inhabited Mount *Anti-libanus*, not far from *Sidon*) before the ruining of the firſt Rampart. *Arrian* contradicts him, and gives his Reaſons. I ſhall leave the Deciſion of the Affair, to my Reader's Judgment.

[1] The Name of *Geroſtratus* is no other than the Elder *Stratos*; ſo that *Curtius*, in his making *Stratos* King of *Aradus*, might be right;

left *Autophradates*, and his Navy; and each, with his own Fleet, came, and ſubmitted themſelves to him; and with them came alſo the *Sidonian Triremes*: So that he had now near Eighty *Phœnician* Ships in his Power. At this Juncture, ſeveral *Triremes* came to his Aſſiſtance from *Rhodes*, one of which was, by way of Excellency, call'd *Peripolos*; and with her, were Nine more. From *Soli*, and *Mallos*, arrived Three; from *Lycia*, Ten; from *Macedon*, One with Fifty Oars, commanded by *Proteas* the Son of *Andronicus*; and ſoon after, the Kings of *Cyprus*, (having received Intelligence of the *Perſian* Defeat at *Iſſus*, and terrified with the News that all *Phœnicia* had ſubmitted to the Conqueror) arrived at *Sidon*, with a Navy of One hundred and twenty Ships. *Alexander* granted them a general Pardon for all paſt Offences, becauſe they had not join'd their Fleet with the *Perſians*, out of Choice, but Neceſſity. In the mean time, while the Engines were preparing, and the Ships fitting out, as well to attack the City, as for a Sea-Fight, *Alexander*, with ſome Troops of Horſe, and Targeteers, beſides Archers and *Agrians*, made an Excurſion into *Arabia*, to the Mountain call'd *Anti-Libanus*; and, having reduced the Country thereabouts, partly by Force, and partly by Compoſition, at the End of ten Days, he returned to *Sidon*; where [2] *Cleander* the Son of *Polemocrates*, who was newly arrived from *Peloponneſus*, met him with Four thouſand *Greek* Mercenaries: His Fleet being now ready, and a ſufficient

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right; but then he certainly ought to have inform'd us, that he himſelf was abſent, and his Son (whom he mentioned there as King) deputed Regent, or ſomething to that purpoſe. However, 'tis a little ſtrange, that he ſhould mention but Two Kings, inſtead of Three, and give both their Names wrong.

[2] *Curtius* ſays, *Cleander* came, with his Recruits, to *Alexander* at *Tyre*. *Arrian* is more exact, and aſſures us, he met the King at *Sidon*, and accompanied him, from thence, to the Siege of *Tyre*.

Number of Targeteers taken on board, (unleſs a Sea-Fight ſhould happen rather with Ships than Men) he ſet Sail from *Sidon*, and, with a choice Army, haſted towards *Tyre*, himſelf being on the Right Wing, which was ſtretch'd forth to Sea-ward, and with him, were the *Cyprian* Kings, (and all the *Phœnicians*) except [3] *Pnytagoras*; for he, and *Craterus* brought up the Left Wing. The *Tyrians* had, at firſt, reſolved upon a Sea-Fight, if *Alexander* ſhould attempt to bring a Fleet againſt them: but when they ſaw ſuch a prodigious [4] Naval Force, far beyond what they expected, (for they had not yet heard that all the *Cyprian* and *Phœnician* Fleets were in his Hands) and thoſe ready to make a Deſcent, with a choice Army, (for a little before they came near the City, the Ships, on the Right Wing, ſtood out to Sea, but the *Tyrians* not coming forth to meet them, they received contrary Orders, and with all their Force, ſteer'd directly thither) then the *Tyrians* begun to lay aſide all Thoughts of a Sea-Engagement, and only ſtudied how to block up the Mouths of their Harbours, with as many *Triremes* as they could contain, that the Enemies Fleet might not be able to force an Entrance into either of them. *Alexander*, perceiving that the *Tyrians* came not forth to meet him, ſailed ſtill nearer the City; but durſt not attempt to make his way into the Haven towards *Sidon*, becauſe of the Narrowneſs

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[3] *Curtius* mentions *Pnytagoras* as if he had been ſole Monarch of *Cyprus*. *Arrian* only talks of him here, as King of Part of that Iſland; and he is certainly right: for *Pliny* reckons Eight Kings who reign'd there beſides.

[4] His whole Naval Force, according to *Curtius*, *lib.* iv. *cap.* 3. conſiſted of One hundred and eighty Sail of Ships; but he never mentions what they were. *Arrian* has been abundantly more accurate in his Account, and by giving us the Number, each Nation furniſhed him with, makes the whole Sum amount to Two hundred and twenty-four. *Plutarch* tells us only, that the Haven of *Tyre* was block'd up, by *Alexander*, with Two hundred Triremes.

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of its Entrance, which was alſo obſtructed by many Ships, whoſe oppoſite Prows he could eaſily diſcern: Three of thoſe Ships, poſted at the Extremity of the Paſſage, the *Phœnicians* attack'd with their arm'd Prows, and immediately ſunk; but the Sailors who were on board, eaſily eſcaped, by ſwimming, to their Friends. Then *Alexander* drew his Fleet aſhore, near the new Mole, which he had built, to preſerve them from the Danger of Storms; and the Day after, commanded *Andromachus* Captain of the *Cyprian* Navy, to block up the Haven towards *Sidon*, and beſiege the City on that Side. The *Phœnicians* were order'd to lie over-againſt the Haven, on the other Side of the Mole, which looks towards *Ægypt*, where, alſo he fix'd his Royal Pavilion.

CHAP. XXI.

MANY Engineers were, now, aſſembled from *Cyprus* and *Phœnicia*, and many warlike Engines prepared, ſome whereof were planted upon the Rampart, others on board the Hulks, which were brought from *Sidon*, and others on the Decks of ſuch of their Ships, as were the ſloweſt Sailors. All Things thus in Readineſs, he inſtantly proceeded to batter the Walls, as well from the Ships, as the Rampart. The *Tyrians* who were poſted on the Walls, oppoſite to the Enemies Batteries, built Towers of Wood, wherein they placed themſelves, to annoy the Beſiegers, and from whence, if the Engines aſſaulted them, on any Side, they might defend themſelves with Darts, and caſt their miſſive Weapons, bearing Fire at their Points, into their very Ships, endeavouring by that means to deterr the *Macedonians*

from approaching. The Wall, oppoſite to their Mole, was nigh [1] One hundred and fifty Foot high, with a Breadth proportionable, and built with vaſt Stones, ſtrongly cemented together. The [2] Hulks, and *Triremes*, which ſhould have advanced with the Beſiegers Engines, againſt the Walls, could not approach there, becauſe the huge Stones which the *Tyrians* continually caſt down into the Sea, hinder'd their Acceſs. *Alexander*, however, took care to clear the Paſſage, by drawing the Stones out of the Sea, which was a Work of great Difficulty, eſpecially ſince it was to be perform'd out of their Ships, where no ſuch firm Footing was to be had, as on Shore. Some *Tyrians*, then, in cloſe Veſſels, made towards their Ships, and cutting the Cables, which held them, entirely deprived them of all Power of aſſaulting them, that Way. *Alexander* ſeeing this, diſpatch'd ſome cloſe Ships, of Thirty Oars each, to caſt Anchor there, and repel the *Tyrians* in theirs. But neither could this take Effect; for the *Tyrians*, being expert Divers, ſlid, ſecretly, out of their Veſſels, and again cutting their Cables, ſet their Ships a-drift. The *Macedonians* then uſed Chains, for Ca-

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[1] The Number, here, muſt needs be erroneous, tho' all the Copies of *Arrian*, which I have ſeen, have it the ſame. *Curtius* tells us nothing of their Height, only he ſays, the Citizens built them an inner Wall, for fear the firſt ſhould give way to *Alexander*'s Battering-Engines. But as we never hear that this inner Wall gave him any Trouble to gain it, we may, with good reaſon, affirm, no ſuch Wall was ever built.

[2] Had the Sea been of ſuch a vaſt Depth as *Curtius* has already told us, the Citizens muſt have caſt in monſtrous Stones indeed, and vaſt Quantities of them too, to have hinder'd *Alexander*'s Veſſels from approaching: But *Arrian* has aſſured us, that the Sea was no where above Eighteen Foot deep thereabouts; and ſuch a Depth might eaſily be ſo choak'd up with Stones and Rubbiſh, as to hinder their Approach cloſe to the Walls. However, after *Curtius* had told us of the prodigious Depth of Water, it would have been Nonſenſe in him to have touch'd upon this Story, for which Reaſon he has wiſely omitted it.

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bles, to ſecure them from the Danger of Divers. The Stones which the Citizens had caſt into the Sea, were drawn up with Ropes, and thrown into a deeper Place, at a Diſtance, that they might no more hinder their Acceſs; and this huge Bank of Stones thus clear'd away, the Ships eaſily approach'd the Wall.

CHAP. XXII.

THE [1] *Tyrians*, ſeeing themſelves reduced to ſuch great Streights, reſolved to attack the *Cyprian* Squadron, poſted at the Mouth of the Haven, which looks towards *Sidon*; and having, before that Time, ſpread Sails a-croſs the Mouth of the Haven, that their Ships, fill'd with Soldiers, might not be diſcover'd by the Enemy, about Noon, (at which Time the *Macedonian* Sailors were uſually buſied about their private Affairs, and *Alex-*

[1] This whole Chapter, *Curtius* has either left out, or given ſome of the Particulars, in Terms ſo dark and general, that 'tis as hard, as uſeleſs, to underſtand him: But to make amends for this Omiſſion, he obliges us with the Story of a Whale, *Book* iv. *Chap.* 4. which, he aſſures us, with his uſual Confidence, appear'd between the *Macedonian* Fleet and the Town.— Whether any Whales are ever ſeen in thoſe Seas, I know not; neither do I much care. If Whales are common thereabouts, and one was ſeen, by both Parties, there was no Wonder in it at all. Bodies of ſo huge a Size, are not eaſily hid. I have heard of a Tub thrown out, for a Whale to play withal; but never, before, of a Whale ſent for a Couple of Armies to play withal. Had this Whale dropt from the Clouds, and come flying over the City, among the *Macedonian* Fleet, I ſhould have deem'd it worthy a Place in Hiſtory, and it might have paſs'd for a good tolerable ſort of a Prodigy. As it is, there is nothing ſtrange in the Story, and I cannot tell which were the greateſt Fools, the *Tyrians*, and *Macedonians*, for taking Notice of it as a Prodigy; or *Curtius*, for allowing it a Place in his Hiſtory.

ander had retired from his Fleet, to his Pavilion, on the other Side of the City) with five choice *Quinqueremes*, as many *Quadriremes*, and ſeven *Triremes*, fill'd with expert Rowers, and reſolute Soldiers, well arm'd for Fight, and inured to the Sea, rowed out ſlowly, and ſilently, one by one, againſt the Enemy: But when they advanced within Sight of the *Cyprians*, encouraging each other with a great Shout, and claſhing of their Oars, they attack'd their Fleet. But it happen'd that Day, that *Alexander* having retired, as uſual, to his Pavilion, tarried there but a ſhort time, and return'd to his Fleet. The *Tyrians* aſſaulted the Enemies Ships all on a ſudden, when ſome were entirely empty, and others, by reaſon of the Noiſe and Violence of the Attack, were ſurprized unprepared for Reſiſtance. *Pnytagoras*'s *Quinquereme* was ſunk at the firſt Onſet, with another commanded by *Androcles* the *Amathuſian*, and *Paſicrates* the *Thurian*; others were forced on Shore, and beat to pieces. *Alexander* hearing of this Excurſion of the *Tyrian Triremes*, immediately order'd as many Ships as he could ſpare, and were well arm'd, to block up the Mouth of the Haven, and thereby hinder the reſt of the *Tyrian* Fleet from coming forth. He then, with the *Quinqueremes* which he had ready, and five *Triremes*, well prepared, ſailing round the City, haſted to attack the *Tyrians*. The Beſieged ſeeing this from the Wall, and perceiving *Alexander* himſelf there, endeavour'd, by loud Cries, to recall their Men, who were on board; and when their Cries, by reaſon of the Tumult, could not be heard, they made ſeveral Signals for them to return, becauſe the Enemy was at hand: but finding, too late, that *Alexander* was upon them, they turn'd their Sails, and haſted to the Haven; yet few of them could ſave themſelves by Flight; for *Alexander*'s Ships falling in, ſuddenly, among them, render'd ſome unfit for ſailing; and

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one *Quinquereme*, and a *Quadrireme*, were taken at the very Entrance of the Port. The Slaughter of the *Tyrians* was not great, becauſe as ſoon as they perceived it impoſſible to ſave their Ships, they eſcaped into the Harbour by ſwimming. The *Macedonians*, now knowing that the *Tyrian* Fleet would be unſerviceable, moved their Engines up to the Walls. Thoſe which advanced on the Side towards the Rampart, did no Execution, by reaſon of the Firmneſs of the Wall there. Others moved ſome Hulks with Engines, to that Quarter of the City which looks towards *Sidon*. But when they found their Endeavours there, fruitleſs, ſailing along the whole South Part of the Wall towards *Ægypt*, they tried to batter it every where: And there, indeed, by the Violence of their Attacks, it was at firſt ſhaken, and afterwards beat down, and demoliſhed. Whereupon, they immediately mounted the [2] Breach, by the help of their Ladders, and begun to ſtorm the Place: but the *Tyrians*, without any great Difficulty, repuls'd them.

CHAP. XXIII.

THE third Day after this, the Sea being perfectly calm, [1] *Alexander* having call'd his Captains together, and encouraged them to fight, cauſed

[2] *Curtius* does not ſo much as hint at any Aſſault of the City, before the laſt, and general one.

[1] By *Curtius*'s Deſcription of this general Aſſault, as he calls it, one would really imagine *Alexander* had ſtorm'd and taken the Town himſelf, and that all his Soldiers had been little more than idle Spectators of his martial Proweſs. 'Tis true, he ſays in general, "That

cauſed his Batteries to be advanced to the Walls, a great part whereof fell down at the firſt Shock of their Engines; and when he perceived that the Breach was wide enough, he order'd the Hulks, which bore the Engines, to retire, and other two, with the Scaling-Ladders, to advance, that they might enter the Town over the Ruins of the Wall: One of theſe had the Targeteers on board, commanded by *Admetus*; the other, the auxiliary Troop of Foot, commanded by *Cænus*; himſelf, with the Targeteers, ſtanding ready to mount the Walls, on the firſt Opportunity. He order'd ſome *Triremes* to block up both Havens, and, if poſſible, while the *Tyrians* were buſy in defending themſelves elſewhere, to enter by Force; and as many of his Ships

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" a Breach was made in the Walls, and many of *Alexander*'s Soldiers " enter'd the Haven:"— Tho' after this, he tells us not a Word, where the Breach was made? who made it? who enter'd by it? nor what Execution they did? And as for thoſe who enter'd the Haven, he gives us no Account, whether they enter'd on Foot, or on Horſeback; nor do we learn from him, of any thing they did, only, " Some of them mounted the Walls, which the *Tyrians* had " deſerted," *lib.* iv. *cap.* 4. However, to ſhew us he is an impartial Hiſtorian, he has made the Citizens full as great Cowards, and as unactive as the others can be, for their Lives; for he adds, " That " this Succeſs, (namely, their ſcaling the Walls, and breaking into " the Haven) ſtruck the *Tyrians* with great Amazement, and all be- " gun to provide for their Safety. (He ought to have ſaid, They begun to neglect the general Safety, and each to conſult his own in particular.) " Some, he adds, took Sanctuary in their Temples; " others barricaded their Doors; and many reſolved to ſell their Lives " as dear as they could. Some got up to the Tops of their Houſes, " and threw Stones and Rubbiſh down on their Enemies. Hereupon, " *Alexander* cauſed Proclamation to be made, that he would put all " to the Sword who were not found in their Temples; and imme- " diately order'd the Houſes to be ſet on fire. Thus many periſhed, " for the Temples were filled with Women and Children, and every " Man ſtood in his own Defence, at his Door."—— This is the moſt romantick Account of the ſacking of a City, I ever read, and ſuch a one as, I dare ſay, none beſides *Curtius*, ever wrote: but as he deſign'd not his Work ſo much for Inſtruction, as Amuſement, he thought any Stuff, in florid Language, would go down with his Readers.

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as carried the ſhooting Artillery, or were built cloſe, for the Convenience of Archers, he commanded to ſail round the Wall, and aſſault it where-ever they could, and where they could not, to keep, at leaſt, within Reach of their Darts: and this he did, that the *Tyrians*, finding themſelves preſs'd on all Hands, might be confounded, and unable to defend their City. The Ships being now drawn up, cloſe to the Walls, and the Ladders fix'd, the Targeteers, headed by *Admetus*, valiantly mounted the Breach; and it was not long before he was ſeconded by *Alexander*, who was always preſent, where Danger call'd, and a conſtant Encourager and Rewarder of Valour, in others. The Wall was taken, and enter'd on that Part where *Alexander* made the Aſſault; and the *Tyrians* being beat back, the *Macedonians* found firm Footing. While *Admetus*, who firſt mounted the Breach, was exhorting his Soldiers to follow his Example, he was thruſt thro' with a Spear, and died: but *Alexander*, with his Men, mounting at at the ſame time, kept their Ground. Some Towers being then ſeiz'd, with the whole Space between them, he march'd directly from the Wall towards the Royal Palace, becauſe the Deſcent into the City that Way, ſeem'd the moſt eaſy and agreeable.

CHAP. XXIV.

THOSE, then, who were order'd to block up the Haven looking towards *Ægypt*, with the *Phœnicians*, making a ſudden Attempt upon it, broke the Chain, and attack'd the Ships in the Haven: ſome floating on the Water, were ſunk; others running on Shore, were beat in pieces. The *Cyprians* alſo broke into the Haven towards *Sidon*, and

and enter'd the City on that Side. The *Tyrians* ſeeing their Walls in the Enemies Poſſeſſion, retired thence, in a Body, to the *Agenorium*, (a Place ſo call'd) where they rallied, and drew up, againſt the *Macedonians*: But *Alexander*, with his Targeteers, haſting to the Place, kill'd many, and put the reſt to flight. A great Slaughter alſo happen'd at the Haven, where *Cænus* and his Forces enter'd the City; for the *Macedonians* were vehemently enraged at the Citizens, partly for holding out the Place ſo long, and partly becauſe they having ſeiz'd ſome of their Men, ſailing from *Sidon*, firſt hoiſted them up aloft upon their Walls, in Sight of their Friends, and afterwards ſtabb'd them, and threw their Bodies into the Sea. About [1] Eight thouſand *Tyrians* were ſlain. [2] Of the *Macedonians*, beſides *Admetus*,

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[1] *Curtius* mentions only Six thouſand; but he adds, that Two thouſand more were nailed to Gibbets, in Rows, on the Shore. Some Editions of *Curtius*, *lib.* iv. *cap.* 4. 15. *Ed. Snakenburg.* tell us, "That the *Sidonians* who enter'd the Town, calling to mind that "*Tyre* and *Sidon* were both built by *Agenor*, and, of conſequence, that "the *Tyrians* ſprung from the ſame Stock with themſelves, found "means to convey Fifteen thouſand of them on board their Ships, "and ſave them from the Ruin of their Fellow Citizens."—— This is a very improbable Story; and as neither *Arrian* nor *Diodorus* have one Word like it, nor any Author I can meet with, I am apt to ſuſpect, that *Curtius*'s Humanity, for once, got the better of his Honeſty. However, ſome of our later Editors of *Curtius*, finding the Number Fifteen thouſand too many, to be thus ſecretly convey'd away, have retrench'd it to Five thouſand. Of this Opinion was *Glareanus*, tho' *Raderus* thinks the former Number, in ſuch a Hurry, and where ſo many Ships were at hand, is not improbable.—— I can ſay nothing to it, only had there been any Truth in it, I can never imagin that *Arrian*, who is every where ſo accurate, would have omitted ſo memorable a Story.

[2] We have no Account given us, by *Curtius*, what Number of *Macedonians* periſhed in this Siege: And truly, the Numbers we have, are ſo vaſtly diſproportionable, that they plainly ſhew to which Party we owe the Records, or Memoirs, from whence all theſe Hiſtories were compiled. *Juſtin. lib.* xi. *cap.* 10. contrary to all other Authors, affirms, that *Tyre* was taken by Treachery. *Ælian* reports, that it was won by Stratagem. *Polyænus*, that it was carried by Storm.

who

who firſt enter'd the Breach, and took Poſſeſſion of the Wall, about Twenty Targeteers fell in that Aſſault; and during the whole Siege, about Four hundred. They who had fled to the Temple of *Hercules*, (being ſome of the chief *Tyrian* Nobility, beſides King *Azelmicus*, and [3] ſome *Carthaginian* Prieſts, who, according to antient Cuſtom, were ſent to their Mother City, to offer Sacrifices to *Hercules*) had the Benefit of a free Pardon. The reſt, to the number of Thirty thouſand, including Strangers, were ſold for Slaves. *Alexander*, after this, offer'd Sacrifice to *Hercules*, at which his whole Army aſſiſted; the Navy alſo perform'd a Part in the Solemnity. He moreover appointed *Gymnick* Sports, in *Hercules*'s Temple, which was then finely illuminated. The Engine, wherewith the Wall was demoliſhed, he placed there, as an eternal Monument of his Victory: And the *Tyrian* Ship, conſecrated to *Hercules*, which he had taken, in a Sea-fight, he cauſed to be hung up there, with an Inſcription, which, whether compoſed by himſelf, or any other, as it contains nothing worth Notice, I have deem'd it unworthy to be communicated to Poſterity. And thus was the City of *Tyre* taken, in the Month *Hecatombaion*, when [4] *Anicetus* was Archon at *Athens*.

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[3] *Curtius* has contrived a ſtrange Story here, *lib.* iv. *cap.* 3. 19. of Thirty *Carthaginian* Embaſſadors, who came rather to condole the Condition of the *Tyrians*, than to give them Relief; for they, he ſays, "brought Word, that the *Syracuſians* were at that Time, deſtroying "*Africa* with Fire and Sword, and were encamp'd not far from the "Walls of *Carthage*."—Theſe were lying Embaſſadors, and 'tis pity but *Alexander* had rewarded them. The *Syracuſians* are never known to have beſieged *Carthage* but once, and that was under the Command of *Agathocles*, long after *Alexander*'s Time. See *Juſtin. lib.* xxii. *cap.* 6. There were indeed ſome Commotions in *Africa*, about that Time, but the *Syracuſians* had no Share in them. This Error in *Curtius* is confuted by *Raderus*, and his Cenſure is confirm'd by *Freinſhemius*. *Rheineccius* has alſo noted it, in his *2d Tome, De Carthag. Republicâ.*

[4] This happen'd in the firſt Year of the 112th *Olympiad*, the 23d Year of *Alexander*'s Age, and the third of his Reign.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

WHILE *Alexander* was yet beſieging *Tyre*, Embaſſadors arrived from *Darius*, telling him, That *Darius* would beſtow upon him [1] Ten thouſand Talents of Silver, if he would ſet his Mother, his Wife, and Children at Liberty; as alſo all the Country between the *Euphrates* and the *Helleſpont*; and if he would take his Daughter in Marriage, he ſhould be ſtiled his Friend, and Confederate. Which Embaſſy being debated in Council, *Parmenio* is ſaid to have told him, That if he was *Alexander*, he would accept the Terms; and, when the End of War was gain'd, no longer tempt the Hazard thereof. To which the other is ſaid to have reply'd, So would he, if he was *Parmenio*; but as he was *Alexander*, he muſt act worthy *Alex-*

[1] *Curtius* takes no Notice of the Ten thouſand Talents which *Darius* here promiſes to *Alexander*; but he has contrived a Letter, in *Darius*'s Name, to *Alexander*, which, had that young Monarch ſeen, and could have laid Hands on the Author, I dare engage he would have cropt his Ears cloſe to his Head. He makes *Darius* quite forget his Mother, Wife, and Children, which were the principal Subject of his former. His Tone is now changed, and he talks of nothing but "giving *Alexander* a Wife, with all the Country between the "*Halys* and the *Helleſpont*, for a Dowry."— *Vide lib.* iv. *cap.* 5. But what Conditions he expected for all this, the Author tells us not. However, one may reaſonably ſuppoſe it was, to be left in quiet Poſſeſſion of the reſt. But yet, the Letter is wrote ſo wildly, and he treats *Alexander* ſo like a Child, that the World may eaſily perceive it was penn'd by one who had little Knowledge of Mankind. I wiſh I had room to animadvert a little upon it, and its ranting Anſwer; but as Mr. *Le Clerc* has taken ſome Pains with it, in the Criticiſm prefix'd to this Work, I ſhall paſs both that, and the Anſwer, by, without further Notice.

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ander. He therefore anſwer'd the Embaſſadors, That he neither wanted *Darius*'s Money, nor would accept of Part of his Empire, inſtead of the Whole; for that all his Treaſure, and his Country, was his: That he would marry his [2] Daughter, if he pleas'd, without his Conſent: But if he had a mind to try his Humanity, let him come to him. This Anſwer being carried to *Darius*, and he, deſpairing of Peace, made freſh Preparations for War. *Alexander* then reſolved upon an Expedition into *Ægypt*, all the Cities of that Part of *Syria*, call'd *Paleſtine*, being ſurrender'd peaceably into his Hands, except *Gaza*, which was kept by a certain Eunuch, named [3] *Batis*, who, foreſeeing this, had already hired many Troops of *Arabians*, and laid up vaſt Stores of Proviſions, to ſerve for a long Siege. He alſo intirely truſted to the Strength of the Place, which he look'd upon as impregnable; for which Reaſon, he was reſolved, that whenever *Alexander* approach'd, he ſhould be denied Entrance.

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[2] That he might eaſily do; for he had her ſafe in his Camp, and her Mother too.

[3] He is call'd *Betis* by *Curtius*, *lib.* iv. *cap.* 6, 7. and *Babameſes* by *Joſephus*, *lib.* xi. *cap.* 8. *Curtius* takes no Notice of his hiring any Troops to help him to hold out the Place. All he ſays is, that the City was of a large Compaſs, and tho' there was in it but a ſmall Garriſon, yet was the Governor a Man of approved Loyalty to his Prince.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

GAZA is only twenty Furlongs diſtant from the Sea-ſhore, and exceeding difficult of Acceſs, becauſe of the Depth of the Sand, and the neighbouring Sea, which is, every where, ſhallow. The City itſelf is large, and populous, ſeated on a high Hill, and ſurrounded with a ſtrong Wall. It is alſo the laſt inhabited Place which Travellers meet with, in their Way from *Phœnicia* to *Ægypt*, and borders upon a vaſt Deſert. *Alexander*, immediately after his Arrival there, encamp'd over-againſt that Part of the Wall, which ſeem'd moſt ſubject to an Aſſault, and order'd his Engines to be brought thither; and notwithſtanding it was the Opinion of ſome of his Engineers, that the Wall was not poſſible to be taken by Force, by reaſon of the Height of the Bulwarks, he thought fit to declare his Sentiments to the contrary; and that the more difficult the Attempt was, it was the more neceſſary to be undertaken; for that the very Suddenneſs and Briskneſs of their Aſſault, would ſtrike their Enemies with no ſmall Terror. He added, that if he was unable to reduce the City, it would abundantly redound to his Diſhonour, when the News ſhould be carried to *Greece*, as well as to *Darius*. He therefore order'd a Rampart to be run round it, of ſuch a Height, that the Engines placed thereupon might be upon a Level with the Top of the Wall: Which Rampart he then built over-againſt the South part of the Wall, becauſe it ſeem'd there, the leaſt difficult to be aſſaulted. And when the Work was now brought to its full Height, the *Macedonian* Engines were immediately placed thereon.

About

About this time, as *Alexander* was ſacrificing, with a Crown of Gold upon his Head, according to the Cuſtom of *Greece*, and juſt entering upon the Office, a certain [t] Bird of Prey, hovered over the Altar, and let fall a Stone from his Claws, upon his Head. *Alexander* immediately ſent to conſult *Ariſtander* the Soothſayer, what this Prodigy could portend: Who return'd Anſwer, "Thou ſhalt indeed take "the City, O King; but beware of Danger from "thence, on the Day it is taken." He hearing this, retired out of the Reach of their Darts, to the Engines on the Rampart.

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[t] *Curtius* has made a mighty Miracle of this; and it would be a Miracle indeed, if it were true.—"While *Alexander* was ſacrificing, "ſays he, *lib.* iv. *cap.* 6. 11. a Raven flew over his Head, and upon it "let fall a Clod, which ſhe held in her Claws; the Clod broke, and the "Bird alighted on the next Tower, which being daub'd with Bitu-"men and Sulphur, her Wings were ſo entangled therewith, that ſhe "could not eſcape, but was taken by thoſe who ſtood near."—— *Plutarch* has told this Story ſomewhat different: He ſays, *Vitâ Alex. apud Steph. p.* 16. "The Clod fell upon the King's Shoulder; after "which, the Bird ſettling upon one of the Battering-Engines, was "ſuddenly entangled, and caught, in the Nets which protected the "Ropes wherewith the Engine was managed."—— This is much more probable than the other Account; for I would ask, in the firſt place, What Tower that was, whereon the Bird was ſaid to perch? It could be none of thoſe upon the Town-Walls, becauſe *Alexander's* Soldiers took the Bird, and they were too high for them to ſcale; and beſides, the daubing their Battlements with Pitch and Brimſtone had been ridiculous: So that it muſt neceſſarily be one of *Alexander's* moving Towers of Wood. But then, the Queſtion will be, What could induce *Alexander* to daub them with Pitch and Sulphur? I hope none will ſay, that was done to prevent their being ſet on fire by the Enemy: And I am ſure it could be done with no Deſign of ſetting fire to the Town; they never being uſed for any ſuch purpoſe. Some profound Criticks therefore, to ſave *Curtius's* Reputation, have changed the Words *Bitumine & Sulphure*, and very cunningly read *Alumine & Pulvere*, Duſt and Allum, not only becauſe of the near Affinity of the Words, but alſo as they are of uſe to reſiſt Fire. But how could any daubing of Duſt and Allum catch a Raven?—— *Arrian*, undoubtedly, thought that this Story ſmelt ſtrong, and therefore cut it off ſhort; and indeed this muſt be ſaid in his Praiſe, he ſeldom ſpins a Lye out to any great Length.

CHAP. XXVII.

BUT [1] when *Alexander* ſaw the *Arabians* make a furious Sally out of the City, and ſet fire to the Engines, and, having the Advantage of the higher Station, gall the *Macedonians* below, and beat them from the Rampart which they had built; then, either forgetful of the divine Warning, or moved with the Danger of his Soldiers, he called his Targeteers together, and haſted to ſuccour the *Macedonians*, where they were moſt expoſed, and by his Preſence kept them from betaking themſelves to flight, and abandoning the Rampart; but while he was thus puſhing forwards, an Arrow, from an Engine, pierced his Shield and Breaſtplate, and wounded him in the Shoulder; which, when he perceived, and thereby knew that *Ariſtander*'s Prediction was true, he rejoiced, becauſe, by the ſame Prediction, he was to take the City, notwithſtanding that Wound was not cured, but with much Difficulty. In the mean time, other Engines, which

[1] We have a long Story in *Curtius, lib. iv. cap. 6. 15, &c. Edit. Snakenb.* of "an *Arabian* Soldier, who ſeeming to deſert from the "Town, came to *Alexander*, and fell at his Feet; whereupon the "King raiſed him up, and order'd he ſhould be kindly received: but "the Villain ariſing, ſtruck boldly at his Throat, with a Sword, "which he had hid under his Shield. But he avoided the Danger, "by bending his Body a little, and lifting up his Sword, cut off the "Traitor's Hand." *Hegeſias Magnes* tells us, "that the Villain con-"ceal'd not his Dagger under his Shield, but beneath the Skirts of "his Coat of Mail; and that *Alexander* did not chop off his Hand, "but gave him his Death's Wound by a Cut over the Head."— *Vide Curtium. Var. p.* 172. Which of theſe two, is in the right, I ſhall not determine; only as no other Authors have hinted at the Story, it is not impoſſible they may be both falſe, and the whole an Impoſition.

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had been uſed at the Siege of *Tyre*, arriving by Sea, he order'd the Rampart to be run quite round the City, [2] two Stadia in Breadth, and Two hundred and fifty Foot in Height. The Engines then being prepared, and planted thereupon, the Wall was vehemently ſhaken, and the Miners, in many Places, working privately underneath the Foundations thereof, and conveying the Rubbiſh away, it fell down. The Beſiegers then plying the Citizens with their Darts, beat them out of their Towers; yet thrice they ſuſtain'd the *Macedonian* Shocks, with the Loſs of abundance, ſlain and wounded: But at the fourth Attack, when *Alexander* had call'd his Men thither, he ſo levell'd the [3] Wall, which had been undermined, in ſome Places, and widen'd the Breaches made by the Engines in others, that it ſeem'd then a matter of no Difficulty to the *Macedonians*, to fix their Ladders to the Ruins thereof, and ſtorm the City. As ſoon as the Ladders were fix'd, there aroſe a great Emulation among the Beſiegers, who ſhould firſt mount the Breach: This Honour was gain'd by *Neoptolemus* of the Race of the *Æacidæ*, one

[2] Εὖρος ἐς δύο σταδίους, ὕψος δὲ ἐς πόδας πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίους. Theſe Numbers muſt certainly be erroneous: What Height the Walls of *Gaza* were of, we no where read. *Curtius* tells us of a Rampart thrown up, which equall'd the Walls in Height, *lib.* iv. *cap.* 6. 21. But that gives us no Aſſiſtance in the preſent Caſe: So that we muſt be forced to let the Matter reſt, till we can, by ſome other Manuſcript Copies of *Arrian*, find where the Miſtake lies.

[3] *Curtius*, *lib.* iv. *cap.* 6. 22. tells us, the Inhabitants built an inner Wall, to ſecure themſelves, of equal Height with the outer one. Of what Service theſe inner Walls were, we need not inform our Readers; only I cannot forbear taking notice, that this is not the firſt time, he has put himſelf to the Expence of running up an inner Wall, when, in all probability, the Citizens never had any ſuch Thought; for, as well at *Tyre*, as here, when the outermoſt Wall gave way, and was ſcaled, we never read, either in *Curtius*, or any other Author, that the *Macedonian* Soldiers found an inner one: From whence we may rationally infer, that if they did run up an inner Wall, it was made of Butter, or ſuch like Stuff, and probably the Sun, in ſo hot a Climate, might melt it down, and ſave the *Macedonians* the Trouble of planting their Battering-Rams againſt it.

of his Friends; and after him, other Captains, and others, ſtill enter'd with their Forces: and when many of the *Macedonians* were now within the Walls, they forced open the Gates, one after another, and gave Entrance to the whole Army. [4] The Citizens, notwithſtanding they ſaw the Place thus taken by Storm, were reſolved to fight to the laſt; and gathering together in a Body, every one loſt his Life where he ſtood, after a brave Reſiſtance. *Alexander* ſold their Wives and Children for Slaves; and a Colony being drawn thither from the Neighbourhood, the City was afterwards made uſe of as a Garriſon.

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[4] *Arrian* has given us no particular Account of the Number of Citizens ſlain; only he ſays, they fought deſperately, and ſold their Lives dearly. *Curtius* affirms, that Ten thouſand fell. *Hegeſias* ſays, only Six thouſand. *Curtius* tells us, that *Alexander* received a Wound, or Bruiſe, on his Leg, by a Stone: But this I imagine a Miſtake; for *Plutarch* in his Treatiſe *De Fortuna Alexandri*, ſays, the Bird already mentioned let the Clod fall upon his Foot; whereas he had before alledged, that it fell upon his Shoulder. If the Reader compares *Arrian*'s whole Account of this Siege, with *Curtius*, he will eaſily perceive which is the moſt probable.

ARRIAN's
HISTORY
OF
ALEXANDER's Expedition.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

ALEXANDER continued his Journey into *Ægypt*, as he had firſt propoſed, and on the ſeventh Day after his Departure from *Gaza*, arrived at *Peluſium*. His Navy, which had ſail'd from *Phœnicia*, he found there, in the Haven. In the mean while, *Mazaces* the *Perſian*, whom *Darius* had appointed Governor of *Ægypt*, being aſſured of the ſad Defeat at *Iſſus*, and of *Darius*'s Flight; as alſo that *Phœnicia*, and *Syria*, and a great Part of *Arabia*, had already ſubmitted to the Conqueror; as he had no Army to defend himſelf, order'd that *Alexander* ſhould be friendly received into the [1] Cities of that Province. Having

[1] *Curtius* tells us, *Mazaces* there, deliver'd to *Alexander* Eight hundred Talents of Silver, and all the Royal Furniture, *lib.* iv. *cap.* 7. 4.

therefore placed a Garriſon in *Peluſium*, and order'd his Ships to ſail up the River *Nilus*, he ſet out for *Heliopolis*, having the River on his Right Hand; and, receiving as many Towns, as lay in his Way, into his Protection, he paſs'd thro' the Deſarts to *Heliopolis*; and then, croſſing the River, came to *Memphis*, where he offer'd Sacrifices to the Gods, but eſpecially to *Apis*: and exhibited *Gymnick* and *Muſical* Sports, at which all the moſt excellent Combatants of *Greece* were preſent. From *Memphis*, he ſail'd down the River, to the Sea, where he order'd his Targeteers, and Archers, and *Agrians*, beſides his Royal Cohort of Horſe, on board his Ships; and when he had paſs'd by the City *Canopus*, and ſail'd round the Lake *Marias*, he pitch'd upon the Place where [2] *Alexandria* now ſtands; and that Situation ſeeming to him very convenient for a City, he even then preſaged, that it would become rich and populous. Being therefore fired with the Thoughts of this Undertaking, he laid the Foun-

[2] *Plutarch* and *Arrian* acquaint us, that *Alexander* cauſed the Foundations of this City to be laid, before his Expedition to the Temple of *Hammon*. *Diodorus*, *Curtius*, and *Juſtin* mention it as done after his Return from thence. The Reader may take which Opinion he pleaſes. However, I cannot forbear mentioning a remarkable Difference between *Curtius* and *Plutarch*. *Curtius* tells us, *lib.* iv. *cap.* 8. 1. "That *Alexander*, at his Return from *Hammon's* "Temple, viewing the Iſland *Pharos*, admired the Pleaſantneſs there- "of, and reſolved to build a City in it; but, upon ſecond Thoughts, "he found it not large enough to contain one anſwerable to the "Greatneſs of its Founder; whereupon he mark'd out a Place for a "City, where *Alexandria* now ſtands, *&c.*" —— On the contrary, *Plutarch*, *in Vita Alex. p.* 16. aſſures us, "That *Alexander* reſolved "to build a large City in *Ægypt*, and to give it his own Name; in "order to which, after he had meaſured and ſtaked out the Ground, "he chanced, one Night, to ſee a ſtrange Viſion: A grey-headed old "Man, of a venerable Aſpect, *(Homer)* ſeem'd to ſtand by him, and "commanded him to build the City he had intended, in the Iſland "*Pharos*." —— So that here is a manifeſt claſhing between theſe two Authors; which I ſhall leave to the Criticks to reconcile, at their Leiſure. Both of them, it is certain, cannot be in the right; tho' it is not impoſſible but both may be in the wrong.

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dations of a City, pointed out the Place where the *Forum* ſhould be built, gave Orders where the Temples ſhould be rear'd, and how many, as alſo which ſhould be dedicated to the Gods of *Greece*, and which to the *Ægyptian Iſis*; and laſtly, ſhew'd what ſhould be the Circuit of the Walls: and when he had conſulted the Gods upon this Subject, by Sacrifices, the Omens promiſed Succeſs.

CHAP. II.

THERE is a Story told concerning this, which ſeems not improbable, (*viz.*) That when *Alexander* had a mind to mark out the Ground for the Walls, and had nothing ready, fit for that Purpoſe, one of his Workmen adviſed him to gather in all the [1] Meal, which his Soldiers had in their Stores, and ſtrow it upon the Ground, where the Foundations of the Walls ſhould be drawn. His Sooth-ſayers, and particularly *Ariſtander* the *Telmiſſean*,

[1] *Marcellinus*, *lib.* xxii. *cap.* 40. tells us, they deſign'd to have mark'd out the Foundations of the Walls with Chalk, but having none among them, they were forced to make uſe of Meal, or Flower, inſtead thereof: The ſame ſays *Plutarch*, and *Strabo*. However, *Curtius*, in oppoſition to every body elſe, muſt make a Miracle of it; and a mighty one it is. He adds, "That 'tis a Cuſtom of the *Macedoni-*"*ans*, to ſtrow the Foundations of the Walls of a new City with ſod-"den Barley, *lib.* iv. *cap.* 8. 6. —— No Author, beſides himſelf, ever mentions any ſuch Cuſtom; — "which, when *Alexander* perform'd, "certain Birds came and devour'd it. — This, all deeming a bad Omen, "the Prieſts, — *Plutarch* ſays, *Ariſtander*, — look'd upon it as a good "one." —— If it was true, I cannot think there was any thing extraordinary in it at all. The Place they had mark'd out, was between a huge Lake, and the Sea; and whether Meal or ſodden Barley was ſtrow'd, it is no wonder that vaſt Numbers of Birds ſhould flock to a Place, where they perceived ſuch Plenty of Victuals.

who had already given him many true Predictions, viewing this, is ſaid to have propheſied, That it would be bleſs'd with Plenty of all Things neceſſary for Life, but eſpecially the Fruits of the Earth. About this Time, arrived *Ægelochus* in *Ægypt*, with ſome Ships under his Command, who acquainted *Alexander*, that the Inhabitants of the Iſland *Tenedos* had revolted to him, from the *Perſians*, with whom they had unwillingly enter'd into a Confederacy; as alſo, that the Inhabitants of *Chios* had withdrawn themſelves into the City, for Safety, becauſe of the Tyranny of thoſe whom *Pharnabazus* and *Autophradates* had appointed to govern them; that *Pharnabazus* himſelf was ſeiz'd in that City, and committed into Cuſtody, and with him, *Ariſtonicus*, Governor of *Methymna*, who, coming into the Port, with five Piratical Veſſels, and not knowing it was in the Citizens Hands, but imagining that the Fleet, ſet to guard the Entrance thereof, belong'd to *Pharnabazus*, the Ships were all ſeiz'd, and the Pyrates put to Death; that he had brought to him the ſaid *Ariſtonicus*, with *Apollonides* the *Chian*, and *Phiſinus*, and *Megareas*, chief Authors and Encouragers of the Revolt to the *Perſians*, and who, till that Time, had uſurp'd an arbitrary Sovereignty over the whole Iſland: that *Mitylene*, which *Chares* had ſeiz'd into his Hands, was recover'd; and that all the reſt of the Towns of the Iſland *Lesbos* had voluntarily ſurrender'd to him; that *Amphoterus*, with a Fleet of Sixty Ships, had been ſent into the Iſland *Coos*, at the Requeſt of the Inhabitants, and that he, ſailing that Way, and underſtanding that the Iſland was poſſeſs'd by *Amphoterus*, had received the Captives on board, and convey'd them all thither, except [2] *Pharnabazus*, who had deceived his Keepers,

[2] *Curtius* quite forgets this Circumſtance of *Pharnabazus* deceiving his Keepers, and making his Eſcape.

and

and made his Eſcape out of the City. *Alexander* order'd thoſe arbitrary Governors of Cities to be deliver'd into the Hands of the Citizens, over whom they had tyrannized, to be uſed at their Diſcretion; only *Apollonides* the *Chian*, and his Companions, were convey'd, under a ſtrict Guard, to *Elephantines*, a City of *Ægypt*.

CHAP. III.

ABOUT this Time, *Alexander* had an Ambition of viſiting the Temple of *Jupiter* [1] *Hammon* in *Lybia*, and of conſulting his Oracle, (which was ſaid to foretel Events, with an Exactneſs beyond all others) becauſe *Perſeus* and *Hercules* had, aforetime, conſulted that God, the firſt, when he was diſpatch'd by *Polydectes* againſt the *Gorgons*, the latter, when he travell'd into *Lybia* againſt *Antæus*, and into *Ægypt* againſt *Buſiris*; for as *Alexander* deduced his Pedigree from both of them, he was ambitious of arriving at a Pitch of Glory, equal to either of them; for he boaſted of his Riſe from *Hammon*, the *Lybian Jove*, as *Perſeus* and *Hercules* are ſaid to have boaſted of theirs, from the *Grecian Jove*. He therefore undertook this Expedition to the Oracle, [2] that he might be certified of the Succeſs

[1] Some Authors derive the Name of *Hammon* from ἄμμος, which ſignifies *Sand*, the Temple of that God being ſeated in a ſandy Deſart; but others, with much more Probability, derive it from *Cham*, or *Ham*, the ſecond Son of *Noah*, who, with his Poſterity, ſettling in thoſe Parts, was, in proceſs of Time, worſhipped as a God. *Curtius* mentions no Reaſon which induced *Alexander* to viſit this Temple, beſides his own Ambition.

[2] *Maximus Tyrius*, *Orat.* 25. acquaints us, that *Alexander* ask'd the Oracle no Queſtions, except about the Heads of the River *Nile*. However

ceſs of his future Undertakings, or at leaſt that he might boaſt of being ſo. He travell'd at firſt, ſays *Ariſtobulus*, along the Sea-ſhore, to *Parætonius*, thro' a Country altogether waſte, but not ill water'd, the Space of [3] One thouſand and ſix hundred Stadia, and thence took his Courſe into the Midland Country, where ſtands the Temple of *Hammon*, famous for Oracles. The Road is deſart throughout, and, in moſt Parts, not only cover'd with a deep Sand, but deſtitute of Water. But a plentiful Shower, falling from Heaven, as he was travelling, was aſcribed to a divine Power, as was alſo this. As often as the South Wind blows there, it overwhelms the whole Country, with huge Quantities of Sand, ſo that all the Marks of former Paths are cover'd, and the Traveller is as much at a Loſs whither to direct his Courſe, amidſt theſe Sands, as if he were at Sea; for no Marks, or Signs of a Road, then appear, not a Mountain, nor a Tree, nor ſo much as a Hillock, from whence Paſſengers might diſcover their right Path, as Seamen do theirs, from the Stars. *Alexander*'s Army wander'd out of the Way, in thoſe Deſarts, and even their Guides were uncertain how to give Directions. *Ptolomey* the Son of *Lagus* reports, that two Dragons, at that Time, paſs'd along before the Army, with a great Noiſe,

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However that was, he certainly wrote to his Mother *Olympias* afterwards, that he was perſuaded he had found them out. See *Arrian*, *lib.* vi. *cap.* 1.

[3] *Strabo* aſſures us, that from *Paratonius* to the Temple of *Hammon*, is One thouſand and three hundred Stadia:— So that from the Lake *Marias*, or the preſent *Alexandria*, to the Temple of *Hammon*, by Way of *Paratonius*, is Two thouſand and nine hundred Stadia, or Three hundred and ſixty-two *Engliſh* Miles. *Pliny* reckons it twelve Days Journey from *Memphis* to *Hammon*'s Temple. *Diodorus*, *lib.* xvii. *p.* 526, 527. aſſures us, that *Alexander* travell'd along the Deſarts eight Days, the firſt four of which, he made uſe of Water, which they carried upon the Backs of Camels; afterwards, he and his Train were refreſhed with Showers from the Clouds; and laſtly, they were conducted to the Temple, by Ravens.

and

and that *Alexander* order'd his Captains, to rely on the Prodigy, and follow them: He alſo adds, that they conducted them ſafe to the Seat of the Oracle, and convey'd them back again. But *Ariſtobulus*, (and even common Fame) relates the Matter otherwiſe, *(viz.)* That two [4] Ravens flew before the Army, and were their Guides in that Expedition. I am fully perſuaded, that *Alexander* was conducted by ſome divine Power, as appears by all Relators; but the Diverſity of Opinions, among Authors, has obſcured the Truth of this Story.

CHAP. IV.

THE whole Region round the Temple of *Hammon*, is no other than a huge thirſty Waſte, or wide-extended Deſart; near the Middle Part, or Center whereof, is a Space included in ſmall Bounds, (for where it is broadeſt, it ſcarce exceeds forty Furlongs) curiouſly planted with Olive-Trees, and Palm-Trees, and water'd with Dews, which fall no where elſe in all that Country.

[4] *Arrian's* doubt of the Truth of either of theſe two pretended Prodigies, appears by his citing both, and afterwards leaving the Matter in Suſpence. *Curtius* is not ſo ſqueamiſh, but declares, point blank, for the latter; only to ſhew he is no Niggard, in what coſts him nothing, inſtead of two Crows, or Ravens, for their Guides, as other Authors have it, he has generouſly beſtow'd a whole Flight upon them, *lib.* iv. *cap.* 7. 15. and beſides, his Crows were ſo very complaiſant, as firſt to fly to meet them, then to fly before the firſt Ranks, to ſhew them the Way, and ſometimes to alight on the Ground.—— No doubt the poor Birds were glad to walk a little way on Foot, now and then, to eaſe their Wings.—— And ſo they ſeem'd to guide them, till they arrived at the Temple.—— What Reader ſoever does not reliſh this, ought not to have true Hiſtory thrown away upon him.

A Fountain alſo has its Riſe here, different in its Nature and Properties from all the Fountains upon Earth: For at Mid-day, it is cool to the Taſte, but to the Touch intenſely cold; towards Evening, it begins to be warm, which Warmth increaſeth, by degrees, from thence, till Midnight; after Midnight, it waxes cool, by little and little; in the Morning it is chilly, at Noon exceſſive cold; and it receives all theſe various Alterations regularly every Day. This Country naturally produces a kind of foſſile Salt, which, being put into little Boxes of Palm-Tree, ſome of the Prieſts of *Hammon* carry into *Ægypt*, and beſtow on the King, or ſome Great Men, as a Preſent. It is dug out of the Earth, in large oblong Pieces, (ſome above three Fingers in Length) tranſparent like Cryſtal. This kind of Salt, the *Ægyptians*, and other Nations, who are curious in their Worſhip, uſe in their Sacrifices, it being much purer than that produced from Sea-water. *Alexander*, being ſurprized at the Nature of the Place, conſulted the [1] Oracle, and

[1] As ſoon as *Curtius*'s Crows had perform'd the Office of *Jove*'s Gentlemen-Uſhers, by conducting *Alexander* and his Attendants to the Temple, that Author proceeds to give us a romantick Account of the delightful Situation of the Place: then he goes on to the Geographical Part, and points out to us the Situation of the Countries round it: In all which, I may ſafely affirm, there is ſcarce one juſt Sentence, nor one true Word. But the Errors in that Place, being expoſed in the Criticiſm prefix'd to this Work, I ſhall paſs them by here. His Deſcription of the Fountain of the Sun, differs not much from *Arrian*'s. He then paſſes on to deſcribe the Image of *Jupiter*, or rather, the Figure which was worſhipped as a God, wherein, tho' he differs from moſt Authors, he has powerful Advocates; and the Reaſon of the Difference ſeems to be, becauſe he means one thing, and they another, and his Readers have not underſtood him. His next Work is to tell us, that the eldeſt Prieſt met *Alexander*, and ſaluted him with the Title of Son, affirming, that *Jove* his (*Alexander*'s) Father, had given ſuch Orders. Now *Plutarch*, *Vit. Alex.* p. 18. *H. Steph.* ſays, it was the Opinion of ſome Authors, that this was no more than a Blunder of the Prieſt, who, not underſtanding *Greek*, ſaluted *Alexander* with *Paidios*, inſtead of *Paidiqn*: Now *Paidion*, (as perhaps

and having received an acceptable Anſwer, (as himſelf told the Story) return'd to *Ægypt*, the ſame Way he went, as *Ariſtobulus* has it; but, according to *Ptolomey*, a much nearer, leading to *Memphis*.

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perhaps the Prieſt deſign'd it) ſignifies *my Son*, but *Pai Dios*, in two Words, as *Alexander* divided it, ſignifies *Son of Jupiter*. However, after all, I am of their Opinion, who think that *Alexander* play'd the ſame Prank with *Hammon* here, as his Father *Philip* did with *Apollo* at *Delphos*, which made *Demoſthenes* cry out, that *Apollo Philippiz'd*, that is, ſpoke what *Philip* had order'd him: So here, I fancy, *Alexander* had corrupted *Jupiter*'s Prieſts, and ſuch Anſwers were at his Service, as they knew would pleaſe him beſt; an Inſtance of which, we may ſoon perceive; for *Curtius* proceeds to tell us, *lib.* iv. *cap.* 7. 26. that *Alexander*'s firſt Queſtion to his Father *Jupiter* was, Whether he had deſtin'd him to be Emperor of the whole World? The Prieſt, in *Jupiter*'s Name, replied, That all the World ſhould acknowledge him their Emperor.—— This, with all due Submiſſion to *Jupiter*, and his Prieſt, was falſe; for he never conquer'd all *Arabia*, nor half *India*, nor a quarter of *Scythia*, nor a tenth Part of *Africa*, nor a hundred Part of *Europe*. He had but juſt heard of the *Romans* increaſing Power, and begun to have an itching for a Tryal of Skill with them; and *Livy* ſeems to be of Opinion, they would have beat him. However, his Death decided the Controverſy, without Blows. —— The ſecond Queſtion which *Curtius* acquaints us, he ask'd, was, Whether all his Father's Murderers had ſuffer'd Puniſhment? To which (after a few trifling Heſitations of the Prieſt, between his Father *Hammon*, and his Father *Philip*), he received an Anſwer in the Affirmative.—— This was as great a Falſity as the other; for beſides *Alexander* himſelf, and his Mother *Olympias*, who were ſtrongly ſuſpected, *Alexander Lynceſtes* was then alive, whom all knew to have been guilty, and all Authors agree in it. The King had him in Cuſtody, at that Time, but was not willing, perhaps, to lay that to his Charge, whenever he ſhould think fit to take him off. But, after all, perhaps both theſe Queſtions may be of *Curtius*'s own Contrivance, or of the Authors from whom he copied, or, which is more likely than either, of the flattering *Greeks* in *Alexander*'s Train. Of this Opinion is *Strabo*, who acquaints us, *lib.* xvii. *p.* 1168. that none but the King was ſuffered to enter the Temple, in his own Robes, and that none beſides the King was allowed to approach the Oracle, who uſually gave Reſponſes by Nods and Signs. *Arrian* gives us no Account what Queſtions he ask'd, nor what Anſwers he received; probably becauſe he much doubted the Truth of them, and knew them to be liable to numberleſs Exceptions.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

WHEN he was arrived at *Memphis*, he received ſundry Embaſſies from *Greece*, and diſmiſs'd none of them, without granting their Requeſts. A Body of Four hundred new-raiſed mercenary Troops was alſo ſent thither, from *Greece*, by *Antipater*, under the Command of *Menetas* the Son of *Hegeſander*; beſides another of Five hundred Horſe, from *Thrace*, under the Command of *Aſclepiodorus* the Son of *Eunicus*. At this Place, he ſacrificed to *Jupiter*, walk'd in martial Pomp, at the Head of his Army, and exhibited *Gymnick* and *Muſical* Sports. Afterwards, reſolving to ſettle the Affairs of *Ægypt*, he appointed Two of their own Nation their Preſidents, *(viz.)* [1] *Doloaſpis*, and *Petiſis*, between whom he divided the whole Country; but *Petiſis* declining his Charge, the whole devolved upon *Doloaſpis*. The Governments of particular Garriſons he beſtowed on his Friends: That of *Memphis*, upon *Pantaleon* the *Pydnæan*; *Peluſium*, upon *Polemon* the Son of *Megacles* the *Pellæan*. The Command

[1] The ridiculous Account of the Situation of *Memnon*'s Palace, is ſufficiently expoſed by M. *Le Clerc*, in the Criticiſm prefix'd to this Work. I ſhall now only add, that *Curtius* has contracted the Contents of this Chapter into the Compaſs of a Nut-ſhell, inſomuch that I can bring the whole into one ſhort Note. "The King, ſays he, *lib.* iv. "*cap.* 8. 4. made two Governors of *Ægypt*, *Æſchylus*, a *Rhodian*, and "*Peuceſtas*, a *Macedonian*. He left *Polymenes* to defend the Mouths "of the River *Nile*, giving to the firſt Four thouſand Men, and to "the latter Thirty Ships." — This is abridging with a Vengeance: Who, by reading his Account, would not immediately conclude, that all the Affairs of *Ægypt* had been committed to theſe Men? *Arrian* has given us a clear and diſtinct Account thereof, and he needs only be read, to ſhew us the Defect of the other.

of

of the foreign Troops he gave to *Lycidas* the *Ætolian:* The Secretaryſhip of the ſame, to *Eugnoſtus* the Son of *Xenophantus*, one of his Friends; and over theſe, he placed *Æſchylus*, and *Ephippus* the *Chalcedonian*. The Government of the hither *Lybia*, he conferr'd on *Apollonius* the Son of *Carinus*. That Part of *Arabia*, adjacent to *Heroopolis*, on *Cleomenes* the *Naucratian*, with Orders that the chief Men of his Province ſhould live according to their antient Laws, and enjoy their Liberties, and he ſhould only take care to collect the Tribute which *Alexander* commanded them to pay into his Hands. The Forces which he left behind him in *Ægypt*, were under the Command of *Peuceſtas* the Son of *Marcatatus*, and *Balacrus* the Son of *Amyntas*. The Fleet under *Polemon* the Son of *Theramenes:* And, in the room of *Balacrus*, who was one of his Body-Guards, he nominated *Leonnatus* the Son of *Onaſus*; for *Arrybas* was already dead, as was alſo *Antiochus*, Captain of the Archers, who was ſucceeded by *Ombrion* the *Cretan*. *Calanus* was appointed Captain of the Companies of Foot, (which were left in *Ægypt*) inſtead of *Balacrus*. *Alexander* is ſaid to have divided the Country into ſo many Governments, becauſe, conſidering the Nature of the Inhabitants, and the Strength of the fortified Towns, he thought it unſafe to commit the Government thereof to any ſingle Perſon. And in this particular piece of Policy, the *Romans* ſeem to have copied after him, who would allow no Senator, but one of the Equeſtrian Order, to be ſent Proconſul into *Ægypt*.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

IN the Beginning of the Spring, *Alexander* ſet out on his March for *Phœnicia*, and having laid Bridges over the *Nilus*, and all its Trenches, near *Memphis*, he came to *Tyre*, where he met his Fleet, and again ſacrificed to *Hercules*, exhibiting the uſual Sports. At this Place, arrived a Ship from *Athens*, with [1] *Diophantus* and *Achilles* their Embaſſadors, and all the Inhabitants of that Coaſt join'd in their Requeſt: *Alexander* granted them their Deſires, and thereupon, order'd all the *Athenian* Citizens, who were taken Priſoners at the Battle of *Granicus*, to be ſet at Liberty. And hearing that ſome Commotions were riſen in *Peloponneſus*, he diſpatch'd *Amphoterus* thither, to aſſiſt thoſe, in that Country, who, throughout the whole *Perſian* War, had oppoſed the *Lacedæmonians*; Having therefore order'd the *Phœnicians*, and *Cyprians*, to fit out a Hundred Ships more, beſides thoſe deſign'd for *Amphoterus*, and the *Peloponneſians*; he himſelf march'd into the Inland Parts, to *Thapſacus*, and the River *Euphrates*, having deputed *Cæranus* the *Berrœan* to gather the Tributes in *Phœnicia*, and *Philoxenus* in *Aſia*, on this Side the Mountain *Taurus*; but the Money he had in his own Cuſtody, he committed to the Charge of *Harpalus* the Son of *Machatas*, who was newly return'd from Exile, and now ſup-

[1] *Curtius* joins this Embaſſy of the *Athenians*, with thoſe of the *Grecians*, as tho' they had happen'd at the ſame Time and Place, *lib.* iv. *cap.* 8. whereas the contrary appears from *Arrian*; for the *Grecian* Embaſſadors came to him at *Memphis*, but thoſe from the *Athenians*, met him at his Return to *Tyre*.

ply'd

ply'd their Places. This *Harpalus*, for his Fidelity to *Alexander*, while *Philip* yet poſſeſs'd the Throne, was forced to quit *Macedonia*, as alſo did *Ptolemey* the Son of *Lagus*, and *Nearchus* the Son of *Androtinus*, and *Erigyius* the Son of *Larichus*, and his Brother *Laomedon*, all at the ſame Time, and for the ſame Cauſe. For *Alexander* begun to fall under the Suſpicion of his Father *Philip*, after he had divorced his Mother *Olympias*, and taken *Eurydice* to Wife. But after *Philip*'s Death, when they, who fled for *Alexander*'s ſake, return'd, he promoted *Ptolemey* to be one of his Body Guards; to *Harpalus*, being unable to endure the Fatigues of War, he committed the Charge of his Treaſure; *Erigyius* was made Captain of the Royal Cohort of Horſe; and his Brother *Laomedon*, becauſe he was skill'd in two Languages, was appointed to preſide over the Barbarian Captives; *Nearchus* was conſtituted Governor of *Lycia*, and all the adjacent Countries, as far as Mount *Taurus*. However, a little while before the Battle of *Iſſus*, *Harpalus* was deluded by one *Tauriſcus*, a wicked Man, and fled away with him: This *Tauriſcus* paſſing over into *Italy* to *Alexander* King of *Epirus*, there ended his Life. But *Harpalus*, when he got to *Megara*, being perſuaded by *Alexander* to return, on a Promiſe that his Flight ſhould not be to his Prejudice, return'd, and was not only received into Favour, but again preferred to be Keeper of his Treaſures. *Menander*, one of his Friends, was appointed Governor of *Lydia*; and *Clearchus* ſucceeded him, in the Command of the foreign Troops. Inſtead of *Arimmas*, *Aſclepiodorus* the Son of *Eunicus* was made Governor of *Syria*, becauſe *Arimmas*, in making Preparations for the Army, which accompanied him to the Eaſtward, ſeem'd to aim at Sovereignty.

CHAP. VII.

IN the Month *Ecatombaion*, *Ariſtophanes* being Archon at *Athens*, *Alexander* came to the City [1] *Thapſacus*, where he found a broken Bridge, and *Mazæus*, to whom *Darius* had committed the Care of this Paſs, with Three thouſand Horſe, Two thouſand whereof were *Greek* Mercenaries, lay ready to diſpute his Paſſage: And as one continued Bridge did not extend to the further Bank, the *Macedonians*, at firſt, were afraid leſt *Mazæus*'s Soldiers, on the other Side, ſhould repair it, and attack them. But *Mazæus* no ſooner received Intelligence of *Alexander*'s Approach, than he abandon'd the Place, and drew off all his Forces. After his Flight,

[1] Here are two or three Errors in *Curtius* together; for, firſt, he tells us, *lib.* iv. *cap.* 9. 7. "that *Satropates* was ſent before, with a "Thouſand choice Horſe, and afterwards *Mazæus*, with Six thouſand "more, to hinder *Alexander* from paſſing the *Euphrates*. Then he adds, "that *Alexander*, having laid a Bridge over the River, *&c.*" — As to the firſt Point, who this *Satropates* was, is not known, no mention being made of him elſewhere. *Freinſhemius* thinks, it may be only a Corruption of *Atropates*, and that this may be the ſame Perſon, whom *Strabo*, and *Arrian* make Governor of *Media*; but here he is overſeen; for *Curtius* kills his *Satropates*, towards the Concluſion of the very ſame Chapter, and *Arrian*'s *Atropates* made *Alexander* a Preſent of an Hundred Women, attired like *Amazons*, at his Return to *Ecbatana*, after his *Indian* Expedition.— See *Arrian*, *lib.* vii. *cap.* 13. No Man can be reaſonably ſaid to be alive, ſo long after he is really dead. Secondly, that *Mazæus* had Six thouſand Horſe, *Arrian* denies, and allows but Three thouſand in all; Two thouſand of whom, were *Greek* Mercenaries. Thirdly, *Alexander* did not lay a Bridge over the River: There had been a Bridge always there, and there was one then, but it was broke.— Perhaps *Mazæus* broke it, when he reſolv'd to abandon the Paſs: — So that *Alexander* had it but to repair. *Curtius* is not ſo kind, as to acquaint us, where *Alexander* paſs'd the *Euphrates*. *Arrian* aſſures us, it was at *Thapſacus*.

Alexan-

Alexander, having repair'd the Bridge, paſs'd over, with his whole Army. Thence, he march'd into the Country call'd *Meſopotamia*, having the River *Euphrates*, and the Mountains of *Armenia*, on his left Hand: From *Euphrates*, he took his Way towards *Babylon*, but not by the direct Road, becauſe another, was not only more convenient for the drawing up his Army, but afforded greater Plenty of [2] Forage, and all other Neceſſaries; and beſides, the Heats were not ſo exceſſive, in the Countries thro' which he was to paſs. Whilſt he was upon this Expedition, ſome of *Darius*'s Spies, wandering far from his Camp, were taken, who gave him Intelligence, that *Darius* had encamp'd on the Banks of *Tygris*, and was reſolved to obſtruct his Paſſage over that River; as alſo, that he had a more numerous Army than that wherewith he fought in *Cilicia*. *Alexander* hearing this, immediately directed his Face thither; but when he arrived at the Place, he neither found *Darius* himſelf, nor any Garriſon left behind him; wherefore, he paſs'd the [3] River, with Difficulty enough, by reaſon of the Rapidity of the Stream, tho' there was no Enemy to interrupt him. There, he reſted a while, with his Army. At this Time, happen'd a great Eclipſe of the Moon; whereupon *Alexander* offer'd Sacrifices to the Moon, the Sun, and the Earth, by which, Eclipſes are ſaid to be cauſed; and was aſſured by *Ariſtander*, that this Eclipſe of the Moon, portended Happineſs and Succeſs to him, and his

[2] *Curtius* tells us, *lib.* iv. *cap.* 9. that *Mazæus* had ſet all the Country on fire; and that, perhaps, may be one Reaſon why *Alexander* took this round-about Way.

[3] We have a long Story in *Curtius*, about his paſſing this River, tho' the whole is nothing to purpoſe; for he concludes, by ſaying, "He loſt not a Man in paſſing it, and only ſome Baggage," *lib.* iv. *cap.* 9. 22. Afterwards, he gives us a falſe and incoherent Deſcription of an Eclipſe of the Moon, which has been taken notice of, and examined, in the Criticiſm prefix'd to this Work.

Macedonians; that a Battle would be fought in that very Month, and that the Intrals promiſed him the Victory. Having therefore decamp'd from thence, he led his Forces thro' *Aſſyria*, having on his Left Hand the [4] *Sogdian* Mountains, and the River *Tygris* on his Right; and on the fourth Day after, he was inform'd, by ſome of his Spies, that ſome Troops of the Enemies Horſe appear'd in the Fields, but they were not able to diſcover their Number. With a choice Army, therefore, he proceeded to give them Battle, but was ſoon met by other Spies, who had gone further in their Search, and brought him a more certain Account, and they aſſured him, that the whole Number of the Enemies Horſe, then in Sight, was not above One thouſand.

CHAP. VIII.

ALEXANDER hearing this, immediately march'd forwards, taking with him his Royal Cohort, and another, call'd the Auxiliaries, with the *Pæonians* for the forlorn Hope; the reſt of his Army having Orders to march a ſlow Pace after. The *Perſian* Horſe, perceiving their Enemies ruſh

[4] *Curtius* calls theſe, the *Gordyæan* Mountains; which muſt be falſe; for none, beſides himſelf, ever placed them nigh *Arbela*; and his Authority, eſpecially in Geography, will never go down, without chewing. The Mountains, which *Ptolemey* and *Strabo* call by that Name, belong to *Armenia*, and, as *Alexander*'s Soldiers were paſſing along the *Tygris*, muſt have been behind their Backs. *Arrian*, who calls them the *Sogdian* Mountains, muſt alſo be miſtaken; for the Country of *Sogdia* was at too great a Diſtance. See *Tellier*'s Notes on *Curtius*, *lib.* iv. *cap.* 40.

in among them, betook themſelves to Flight, but *Alexander* purſued them; and thoſe, whoſe Horſes failed them, were [1] ſlain; the reſt eſcaped, tho' ſome, with their Horſes, were taken Priſoners: From thoſe, he had Intelligence, that *Darius*, at the Head of a huge Army, was not far off: For the *Indians* adjacent to *Bactria*, as alſo the *Bactrians*, and *Sogdians*, all under the Command of *Beſſus*, Governor of *Bactria*, had come to his Aid: The *Sacæ* alſo, a Colony of the *Scythians*, inhabiting *Aſia*, had join'd him; theſe were not ſubject to *Beſſus*, but in Confederacy with *Darius*: the Captain of thoſe, was *Mabaces*, and they were all Equeſtrian Archers. [2] *Barſaëtes*, Governor of the *Arachoti*, brought thither his *Arachoti*, and *Indian* Mountaineers. *Satibarzanes* Governor of the *Arii*, arrived with his *Arians*. *Phrataphernes* with his *Parthians*, *Hyrcanians*, and *Topireans*, all Horſe. *Atropates* led thither the *Medes*, with whom were join'd the *Caduſians*, *Albanians*, and *Saceſſinæ*. [3] *Orontobates*, *Ariobarzanes*, and *Orxines*, came with Succours from the Countries near the Red Sea. The *Uxians*, and *Suſians* were led thither by *Oxathres* the Son of *Abulitus*; the *Babylonians* by *Bupares*. The *Carians*, who had been driven from their Country; and the *Sitacini*, were join'd with the *Babylonians*. *Orontes* and *Mithrauſtes*

[1] As *Curtius* has given us a General, whom none mentions, beſides himſelf; ſo he takes care not to let him lie too long upon our Hands; for he aſſures us, *lib.* iv. *cap.* 9. 25. "that he was thruſt "thro' the Throat, by *Ariſton* Captain of the *Pœonians*, who cut off "his Head, and laid it at *Alexander*'s Feet."— This may be true, but it looks much like Romance.

[2] This *Barſaetes* is afterwards call'd *Barzaentes*, and once or twice *Brazas*, which laſt is a vaſt Corruption: The ſecond is the true Reading.

[3] He is call'd *Orobates* by *Curtius*, *lib.* iv. *cap.* 12. 8. who adds, *Alia gentes ne ſociis quidem ſatis nota ſequebantur.* Theſe muſt be ſtrange Nations indeed, whom their next Neighbours did not know. If their Neighbours did not, who ſhould? But, perhaps, they were Nations of *Curtius*'s own hatching; and if ſo, it is a mighty Queſtion, whether they knew themſelves.

headed the *Armenians*: *Ariaces* the *Cappadocians*. The *Cœloſyrians*, and Inhabitants between the two Rivers, were conducted thither by *Mazæus*. *Darius*'s whole Army was ſaid to conſiſt of [4] Forty thouſand Horſe; a Million of Foot; Two hundred hook'd Chariots, and about Fifteen Elephants, which arrived from the Parts beyond the River *Indus*. With theſe Forces, *Darius* encamp'd at *Gaugamela*, upon the Banks of the River *Bumadus*, about Six hundred Stadia diſtant from *Arbela*, in a Country every where open and champain: for whatever Inequality was in the Surface of the Earth thereabouts, and whatever, it was deem'd, could be any Impediment to the [5] arm'd Chariots, was all

[4] *Curtius*, in giving us the Number of this Army, differs not only from all other Authors, but manifeſtly contradicts himſelf. He tells us, it conſiſted of Forty-five thouſand Horſe, and Two hundred thouſand Foot, *lib.* iv. *cap.* 12. 13. He had told us before, *lib.* iv. *cap.* 9. 3. that this Army was more numerous, by almoſt half, than the former, which *Darius* had in *Cilicia*; and we may eaſily gather, from *lib.* iii. *cap.* 2. that the Army in *Cilicia* conſiſted of Sixty-one thouſand two hundred Horſe, and Two hundred and twenty thouſand Foot, beſides Thirty thouſand Mercenaries; which is more, by almoſt a third part, than the other. To remedy this remarkable Abſurdity, the *Genevæ* Edition, 1618. has given us the Number, One hundred forty-five thouſand Horſe, and Six hundred thouſand Foot; but without any Authority. However, other Authors differ ſtrangely: *Juſtin*, *lib.* xi. *cap.* 12. reckons them a Hundred thouſand Horſe, and Four hundred thouſand Foot. *Oroſius*, *lib.* iii. 17. a Hundred thouſand Horſe, and Four hundred and four thouſand Foot. *Diodorus*, *lib.* xvii. 39. & 53, Two hundred thouſand Horſe, and Eight hundred thouſand Foot. And *Plutarch*, in his Life of *Alexander*, tells us, the Number of Horſe and Foot together, made up a Million. Theſe prodigious Differences, 'tis impoſſible to reconcile. However, *Diodorus*, *Plutarch*, and *Arrian*, vary not much; only I am apt to ſuſpect *Arrian*'s πεζικωμυρίους, for Forty thouſand Horſe is an inconſiderable Number, to a Million of Foot.

[5] *Curtius* has taken a great deal of Pains, to deſcribe theſe arm'd Chariots, which the *Perſians* uſed in Battle, but to ſo little purpoſe, that the Author of the *Delphini* Notes, tells us plainly, he neither underſtood the Authors he copied from, nor what himſelf wrote. *Vide Notas ad lib.* iv. *cap.* 34. See more of this, in the Criticiſm prefix'd to this Work.

entirely

entirely [6] levell'd by the *Perſians*, and made commodious for them to wheel round upon. For *Darius* was perſuaded, by ſome of his Followers, that the Defeat at *Iſſus* was chiefly occaſion'd by the narrowneſs of the Place of Encampment; and this he eaſily believed.

CHAP. IX.

WHEN all theſe Things were told *Alexander*, by the *Perſian* Spies, which he had taken, he tarried four Days, in the very Place where he heard the News, to give his Army ſome Refreſhment, after the Fatigues of a long March. He then ſurrounded his Camp with a Ditch, and Rampart, reſolving to leave there all the Baggage, as alſo the Soldiers, who were unfit for a preſent Engagement; that he, with thoſe who were ſtout and hearty, might ruſh upon the Enemy, clogg'd with no other Incumbrance, than that of their Armour. Having, therefore, drawn out his Forces, he begun his March, about the ſecond Watch of the Night, that he might be ready to attack the *Perſians* by Break of Day. As ſoon as *Darius* was acquainted with *Alexander*'s Approach, he inſtantly ſet his Army in Battle-Array; and *Alexander* did the ſame,

[6] *Darius*, as *Curtius* has told us, *lib.* iv. *cap.* 9. 10. had given Orders for the whole Field of Battle to be levell'd: but afterwards, that Author falls into a ſtrange Error, by placing *Mazæus*, with a Party, upon a Hill, to diſcover the Enemies Motions, *lib.* iv. *cap.* 12. 18. and then, he ſays, the *Macedonians* ſeiz'd it; but they could not perfectly diſcover the Numbers of the *Perſians* from thence, becauſe of the Miſts, which aroſe among the Mountains. —— Sure he had loſt his Senſes in a Fog, or he would never have been guilty of ſuch Abſurdities.

on his part. Their Camps were then about Sixty Stadia diſtant from each other, neither were they yet come within Sight of each other; for ſome ſmall Hillocks, lying in the Middle, hinder'd them. But when *Alexander* had advanced, with his Army, almoſt Thirty Stadia, he arrived at theſe Hillocks, where, having a full View of the *Barbarians*, he order'd them to halt, and calling a Council, conſiſting of his Friends, and the Generals of his Forces, the Prefects of Troops, and the Captains of his *Grecian*, and foreign Auxiliaries, he conſulted with them, whether the Army ſhould immediately proceed, from their preſent Station, and enter upon an Engagement, (which was the Opinion of the greateſt part) or whether (as *Parmenio* better adviſed) they ſhould, for a while, pitch their Tents there, and throughly ſurvey all the circumjacent Parts, to prevent Ambuſcades, and ſee if the Enemies Camp was ſtrengthen'd by a Ditch, or if any [1] Galtraps, or other Impediments, lay in their Way; and laſtly, that they ſhould more curiouſly and diligently examin the preſent Diſpoſition of the Enemies Army. This Advice of *Parmenio* prevailed, and they encamp'd there, ready prepared for Battle. Then *Alexander*, taking with him his Light Horſe, and the Royal Cohort, view'd the whole Field, where the Battle was to be fought, with the utmoſt Accuracy; and again calling together the Captains of his Forces, he told them, that they ought not to be ſtirr'd up to warlike Actions by any Speech of his; for their own antient and experienced Valour,

[1] *Curtius* tells us, *lib.* iv. *cap.* 13. 36. "that *Alexander* was in-"form'd by a Deſerter, one *Bion*, that *Darius* had placed Iron Spikes "in his Way, which would gore his Horſe, and gave him Directions "how to avoid them." However that be, we read no more of them afterwards; ſo that, if any ſuch Things were there, they did neither Good nor Harm.

and

and the many gallant Atchievements, they had ſo often perform'd, was a ſufficient Incitement for them. He only requeſted, that every one among them, on whom the Command of a Troop, Wing, Squadron, or Phalanx was conferr'd, ſhould acquaint his Followers, what glorious Rewards would attend that Day's Action; for they did not, then, fight for ſmall Provinces, ſuch as *Cœloſyria*, nor *Phœnicia*, nor *Ægypt*, as they had done in former Battles; but for the Empire of all *Aſia*: and that very Conflict would determine whoſe the Dominion ſhould be. He directed them, not to endeavour to excite thoſe to Valour, by many Words, in whom true Valour was properly inherent; only he warn'd them, to take the utmoſt care to keep them in their Ranks, in Time of Action; and as Silence was ſo neceſſary, they ſhould ſtrictly obſerve it; yet, nevertheleſs, when Occaſion offer'd, they might exalt their Voices, and that their Cries ſhould be as loud and terrible as poſſible. He order'd them, to tranſmit the Inſtructions, they had received, to their Followers, with all Expedition: And, laſtly, that they ſhould well weigh the Matter, and conſider, that the whole Army may be endanger'd, by any one's Neglect; as, on the other hand, it may be preſerved, and become victorious, by each Man's particular Courage and Magnanimity.

CHAP. X.

WITH theſe, and ſuch like ſhort Speeches, he animated his Captains, and received a Confirmation of their Courage; ſo that, relying on their Valour, he order'd them to be careful of their Troops, and let them take a little Reſt. Some ſay,

ſay, that [1] *Parmenio* came, afterwards, to his Pavilion, and endeavour'd to perſuade him to attack the *Perſians* by Night; for that the Shock given in the Dark, and falling upon the Enemy ſuddenly, and unexpectedly, would be much more terrible and deſtructive. To which *Alexander* is ſaid to have return'd Anſwer, That a Victory gain'd by Stealth, argued Baſeneſs in the General; but it was the Buſineſs of *Alexander* to conquer fairly, and not by Fraud. And, ſurely, that Speech favour'd not ſo much of Arrogance in him, as of his conſtant Fortitude in encountring Dangers: And I am of Opinion, that he acted the Part of a conſummate General, in that Affair; for many ſtrange and unaccountable Accidents happen by Night, as well to thoſe who are prepared for Battle, as to thoſe who are otherwiſe, which, oftentimes, bring Ruin to the ſtrongeſt Party, and unexpected Victory to the weakeſt. Beſides, the Night ſeem'd too dangerous a Time, for *Alexander* to hazard his Army in; and he was reſolved, if *Darius* received another

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[1] We have two florid Speeches in *Curtius*, upon this Account; the one, of *Parmenio* to *Alexander*; the other, the King's Anſwer: *Parmenio* tells him, *lib.* iv. *cap.* 13. 5. "That in the dark Night, the "grim and hairy Countenances of the *Scythians*, and *Bactrians*, would "not diſcourage their Men, nor the mighty Bulk of their Bodies, "make them afraid to encounter them."—What monſtrous hairy Fellows muſt theſe *Scythians*, and *Bactrians* be, that the little dapper *Greeks* and *Macedonians* ſhould be afraid to face them? The *Aſiatics* were, generally, a little larger limb'd than the *Europeans*; and I have ſometimes read of a Giant or two in a Battle; but never of a Regiment, or whole Squadron, together. Sure *Parmenio* was too ſtout to be afraid himſelf; and I hope he did not ſwell a Mole-hill to the Size of a Mountain. But then, their Faces were all grim and hairy.—And what then? the *Macedonians* were not to ſhave their Beards, but to knock out their Brains, as faſt as they could; and, I am ſure, no Length, or Buſhineſs of Beard, would ſave its Owner's Head from the Stroke of a Scymitar. The Truth is, *Curtius* repreſented them as Monſters, becauſe they were remote Nations; and, as he thought he could not be eaſily diſproved, he imagined he might even make them as big, and ugly as he would.

Over-

Overthrow, that no Night-Engagement ſhould hinder him from being neceſſitated to confeſs, that he was a leſs experienced Captain, and had leſs valiant Soldiers, than himſelf could boaſt of. Add to this, if, contrary to his Expectation, the *Macedonians* ſhould receive a Defeat, their Enemies had the Friendſhip of all the Country round them; whereas they would have their Hatred. Their Enemies were throughly acquainted with the Country; they, wholly ignorant of it. And as there was no ſmall Number of Captives in their Camp, they might chance to be invaded, even by them, in the Night, not only if they were worſted by their Enemies, but even if they obtain'd the Victory, with Loſs and Difficulty. For theſe, and ſuch like weighty Determinations, I think *Alexander* no leſs to be admired, than for the Greatneſs of his Courage, which ſo often crown'd him with Succeſs.

CHAP. XI.

DARIUS, and his Forces, ſtood under Arms all Night, in the Manner they had been firſt drawn up; for as they had not fortified their Camp, they were afraid the Enemy ſhould attack them by Night. And, ſurely, their long and tedious watching, in heavy Armour, and the Fear which uſually poſſeſſes Mens Minds before a great Danger, contributed not a little to their Overthrow: And this Fear did not ſpring up on a ſudden, but had been of long Continuance; it was firmly rooted in the Hearts of many of them, and wholly daſtardiz'd them.[1] *Darius*'s Army was drawn up in this Manner;

[1] *Freinſhemius*, and *Raderus*, have often told us, that as to the Diſpoſition of Armies, and Deſcription of Battles, *Curtius* underſtood

Manner; (for the Deſcription thereof, ſays *Ariſtobulus*, was found, in little Books, after the Battle.) On the Left Wing, were the *Bactrian* Horſe, and with them, the *Daæ*, and *Arachoti*: behind theſe, the *Perſian* Horſe, and Foot, mix'd together: next theſe, were the *Suſians*; and behind them, the *Caduſians*: And this was the Order of the Left Wing, quite to the main Body of the Army. On the Right, were the *Cæloſyrians*, and they, who inhabit the Country between the two Rivers: theſe were join'd by the *Medes*: next theſe, ſtood the *Parthians*, and *Sacæ*: after theſe, the *Tapurians*, and *Hyrcanians*: behind theſe, the *Albanians*, and *Saceſinæ*: And theſe alſo reach'd to the main Body. In the main Body, where *Darius* was, were his Kindred, and the *Perſian Melophori*, the *Indians*, the *Carian* Exiles, and *Mardian* Archers: next theſe, ſtood the *Uxians*, the *Babylonians*, the Inhabitants bordering on the Red Sea, and the *Sitacini*. Before the Left Wing, facing *Alexander*'s Right, ſtood about a Thouſand *Scythian* and *Bactrian* Horſe, and a Hundred arm'd Chariots; and round *Darius*'s Royal Guard, were Elephants, and about Fifty Chariots. Before the Right Wing, ſtood the *Armenian* and *Cappadocian* Horſe, and about Fifty arm'd Chariots. But the *Greek* mercenary Soldiers, quite ſurrounded *Darius*, and the *Perſians*, who were his Guards, and fronted the *Macedonian* Phalanx, as thoſe whoſe Valour alone was equal to theirs.

[2] *Alexander*'s Army was thus marſhall'd: On the Right Wing, ſtood his auxiliary Troop of Horſe; before

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ſtood them not. I have obſerved the ſame before, concerning his Geography. The Diſpoſition of the Army here, is different from that of *Curtius*, and no wonder: This is the moſt exact, as being taken from *Ariſtobulus*, who copied it from the *Perſian* Manuſcripts. See *Curtius*'s Deſcription of the marſhalling this Army, *lib.* iv. *cap.* 13. 6.

[2] The Diſpoſition of *Alexander*'s Troops, in *Curtius*, appears, at firſt Sight, to be made without Judgment; So that he either wanted it

before thoſe, the Royal Cohort, commanded by *Clitus* the Son of *Dropidas*: next, ſtood thoſe of *Glaucias*; and then that of *Ariſton*: after which, was that of *Sopolis* the Son of *Hermodorus*: next, that of *Heraclitus* the Son of *Antiochus*: then that of *Demetrius* the Son of *Althæmenes*, followed by that of *Meleager*: and the laſt of the Royal Troops, was that commanded by *Hegelochus* the Son of *Hippoſtratus*. But the Command of all the auxiliary Horſe, belonged to *Philotas* the Son of *Parmenio*. The firſt Rank of the *Macedonian* Phalanx, which was join'd with the Horſe, conſiſted

it himſelf, or copied from thoſe who did. As for Example; "For "a Body of Reſerve to the Right Wing, he places *Canus*, with his "Band; and next to him, were *Oreſtes*, and *Lynceſtes*."—— *lib.* iv. *cap.* 13. 28. Now what Reader would not imagine this *Oreſtes*, and *Lynceſtes* to be Captains of Troops, as well as *Canus*? I can aſſure mine, they were no ſuch thing; nay, they were ſo far from being Commanders in *Alexander*'s Army, that they were not ſo much as Men; for the *Oreſtæ*, and *Lynceſtæ*, are only the Names of People inhabiting two particular Diſtricts, or Provinces, in *Greece*: To prove the Truth of which, I ſhall refer my Readers to *Strabo*, *lib.* vii. *Stephanus*, in Λύγκος; *Pliny*, *lib.* iv. *cap.* 10. and *Ptolemey*.— Then *Curtius* proceeds; "After theſe, ſtood *Polypercon*, who headed the "foreign Forces."— *Freinſhemius*, upon this, grows quite out of Patience with him; and when he has told us, that *Polypercon* commanded the *Stymphæi*, in *Diodorus*, he profeſſes, that he gives little Credit to *Curtius*, in any thing, but the leaſt of all to his Deſcriptions of Battles.— However, *Curtius* goes on; "*Amyntas* was General, or "chief Commander, over this Wing."— This is falſe; for *Amyntas* had been diſpatch'd into *Macedonia*, to raiſe Recruits, and was not return'd, and his Brother *Symmias* commanded.— Then he tells us, that "*Philagus* commanded the *Balacrians*, who were newly liſted "into the Service."— That they were, ſure enough; for they were of *Curtius*'s own liſting, nay, and of his creating too; for they were *Non Entities* before: There never was any ſuch Perſon as *Philagus*, nor any ſuch People as the *Balacrians*. However, *Freinſhemius* has ſet him right here, and tells us from *Arrian*, and Conjecture, that *Curtius* either wrote, or ſhould have written, *Phrygas Balacrus regebat*, inſtead of *Philagus Balacros regebat*. *Balacrus* was the Son of *Amyntas*, and commanded a Party of Darters, as *Arrian* informs us in the next Chapter. All theſe Errors, *Curtius* has made in the Compaſs of Three Lines. If his whole Hiſtory were ſuch Stuff, my Comment would ſwell to the Size of a primitive Father's Works, and I ought to live to a Patriarch's Age, to finiſh it.

of

of the Targeteers, commanded by *Nicanor* the Son of *Parmenio*: next to theſe, was the Troop of *Cœnus* the Son of *Polemocrates*: then, that of *Perdiccas* the Son of *Orontes*: after this, ſtood that of *Meleager* the Son of *Neoptolemus*; then, that of *Polyſperchon* the Son of *Simmias*: and next, that of *Amyntas* the Son of *Philip*. The Command of this Cohort belonged to *Simmias*; for *Amyntas* had been before, diſpatch'd into *Macedonia*, to raiſe Recruits. On the Left Side of his Phalanx, was poſted the Troop of *Craterus* the Son of *Alexander*, who alſo commanded the whole Body of Foot on the Left: next was that Body of auxiliary Horſe, whoſe Captain was *Erigyius* the Son of *Larichus*: next theſe, ſtill towards the Left Wing, were the *Theſſalian* Horſe, commanded by *Philip* the Son of *Menelaus*. But the whole Body of Horſe, on the Left Wing, was under the Command of *Parmenio* the Son of *Philotas*. Round theſe, the *Pharſelian* Horſe were poſted, who were both the beſt, and moſt numerous of all the *Theſſalian* Cavalry.

CHAP. XII.

AFTER this Manner, *Alexander* ranged his Army in Front; but he added alſo another Phalanx, which ſhould be a kind of flying Party, or Squadron, having given Orders to the Commanders thereof, that if they perceived their own Countrymen ſurrounded by the *Perſian* Army, they ſhould ſuddenly turn backwards, and charge the *Barbarians*, and contract or dilate their Phalanx, as Occaſion offer'd. On the Right Wing, next to the Royal Cohort, was poſted a Troop of *Agrians*, under the Command of *Attalus*: behind theſe, the *Macedonian* Archers, led on by *Briſo*, to

to whom were join'd thoſe Troops named the foreign Veterans, commanded by *Cleander*. Before the *Agrians*, ſtood the Forlorn Hope of Horſe, and the *Pæonians*, headed by *Aretes*, and *Ariſto*. Before the reſt, ſtood the mercenary Troops of Horſe, under the Command of *Menidas*: But before the Royal Cohort, and auxiliary Troops, the remaining Part of the *Agrians*, and Archers; and the Darters, led on by *Balacrus*, were ranged, to front the arm'd Chariots. Moreover, an Order was given to *Menidas*, and the Troops under his Command, that if the Enemy ſhould ſurround his Wing, he ſhould charge them on the Flank. And this was the Diſpoſition of the Right Wing. On the Left, in a Half-Moon, were the *Thracians*, commanded by *Sitalces*; next, the auxiliary Horſe, led on by *Cœranus*: after theſe, the *Odryſian* Horſe, under the Command of *Agathon* the Son of *Tyrimmas*. But, to front all, on this Wing, ſtood the foreign mercenary Troops of Horſe, under *Andromachus* the Son of *Hieron*: and the *Thracian* Foot, were placed as a Guard upon the Baggage. [1] The whole Army of *Alexander*, thus diſpoſed, conſiſted of about Seven thouſand Horſe, and Forty thouſand Foot.

[1] *Curtius* no where tells us, what Numbers *Alexander* brought into this Field; but when he has done marſhalling them, after his manner, he adds, *lib.* iv. *cap.* 13. 35. "That *Alexander* left all his Carriages, "and Captives, among whom were *Darius*'s Mother, and Children, "on a Hill, a little Diſtance off."—Here is another Hill ſtarted up, all of a ſudden, for he aſſures us before, that the whole was levell'd. The Truth is, he is inconſiſtent with himſelf, and ſeems to labour ſo much at the embelliſhing his Stile, that he ſometimes forgets to write Senſe.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

WHEN both Armies were ranged in ſuch Order as was judged neceſſary, and drew near each other, *Darius*, and thoſe who were about him, *(viz.)* the *Perſian Melophori*, the *Indians*, *Albanians*, *Carian* Exiles, and *Mardian* Archers, were perceived to place themſelves directly oppoſite to *Alexander*, and his Royal Cohort. *Alexander*, therefore, cauſed his Right Wing to ſtretch out in Length: Then the *Perſians*, in the ſame Manner, extended their Left Wing. And now the *Scythian* Horſe almoſt touch'd thoſe, who were the *Macedonian* Forlorn Hope: nevertheleſs, *Alexander* ſtill continued to draw towards the Right Hand, till he approach'd near the Place, which the *Perſians* had levell'd. But now *Darius*, fearing that, if the *Macedonians* proceeded to move to uneven Ground, his arm'd Chariots would be uſeleſs, commanded thoſe who were at the Extremity of his Left Wing, to wheel round, and thereby hinder *Alexander* from extending his Right Wing further. This done, *Alexander* gave Orders to his mercenary Horſe, led on by *Menidas*, to attack them. But when the *Scythian* Horſe, and thoſe of the *Bactrians*, who were join'd with them, had almoſt cut off theſe few, their Numbers being much ſuperior, *Alexander* order'd *Aretes*, with the *Pæonians*, and Foreigners, to their Relief; upon which, the *Barbarians* gave Way: But another Body of *Bactrians* coming up, cauſed their flying Troops to rally, and renew'd the Fight; and a ſharp Equeſtrian Conflict enſuing, many of *Alexander's* Soldiers fell, not only becauſe they were overborn by Numbers,

Numbers, but becauſe the *Scythian* Horſes, and their Riders, were much more compleatly arm'd. But, as it was, the *Macedonians* ſuſtain'd the Shock, and beginning to puſh forwards, with great Fury, broke the Enemies Ranks. The *Barbarians*, on the other hand, ſent their arm'd Chariots againſt the *Macedonians*, to put them into Confuſion; but their [1] Deſigns were fruſtrated; for they no ſooner approach'd, than the *Agrians*, and Darters, under *Balacrus*, who were poſted before the auxiliary Horſe, deſtroy'd many with their miſſive Weapons. The Reins of ſome of them were ſeiz'd, and their Drivers being thrown headlong from their Seats, the Horſes were ſtopp'd, and ſlain. Yet ſome run quite thro' the Middle of the Army, and eſcap'd; for they open'd their Ranks, as they had been order'd, where-ever the Chariots approach'd them; by which means it happen'd, that the Chariots drove thro' ſafe, and the part of the Army thro' which they were hurried, remain'd firm, and untouch'd. However, moſt of theſe were, afterwards, ſeiz'd by the Captains of Horſe, and Targeteers, belonging to *Alexander*.

[1] The Spears and Hooks, which were faſten'd to the Chariots, according to *Curtius*, did ſome Execution at firſt; but afterwards, he owns, the Chariots were overthrown, and the Horſes and Charioteers ſlain. See *lib.* iv. *cap.* 15.

CHAP. XIV.

BUT when [1] *Darius*'s whole Body of Foot began to be in Motion, with Deſign to environ *Alexander*'s Right Wing, he ſpeedily diſpatch'd *Aretas* againſt them, tho' himſelf ſtill continued his Command there. But when he perceived that the Party of Horſe, ſent againſt thoſe who harraſs'd his Right Wing, had begun to break into the *Barbarian* Ranks, he immediately haſted thither, and drawing up his Party of auxiliary Horſe, into a ſort of *Cuneus*, flew directly to the Place, where the Chaſm was, with a mighty Noiſe, as tho' he had been in Purſuit of *Darius*: And indeed, the Battle was doubtful, for a little Time. But when the auxiliary Troops about *Alexander*, and even he himſelf, begun to redouble their Force, and ſmite the *Perſians* in the Faces, with their Spears; and when the *Macedonian* Phalanx, ſtill firm, and terrible, begun to ruſh in upon them; then *Darius* (whoſe Mind had been, before, poſſeſs'd with diſmal Apprehenſions of *Alexander*) gave up all for loſt, and fled. The *Perſians* alſo, who had endeavoured to environ the Right Wing, were in

[1] *Curtius, lib.* iv. *cap.* 15. 1. places *Darius* in the Left Wing of his Army, contrary to *Arrian*; whereas every body knows, that the *Perſian* Monarchs always fought in the Main Body. *Freinſhemius* endeavours to excuſe him here, by alledging, that *Curtius* divided not the Army into Three Parts, as uſual, but only into Two Wings, which met in the Centre; and he adds, that *Darius* might, probably, be poſted ſomewhat nearer the Left Wing.— He might ſo. Another Conjecture he gives us, why *Darius* was on the Left Wing, was, that he might be oppoſite to *Alexander*, who always fought in the Right Wing. But I take the former to be the more probable.

great

great Streights, being violently aſſaulted by *Aretas*; but at length they betook themſelves to Flight, and the *Macedonians* made a huge Slaughter of them in the Purſuit: [2] *Simmias*, with his Troop, could not aſſiſt *Alexander* there, but was forced to make a Halt, and fight; for he not only received Intelligence that the Left Wing was in Danger, but that the Part, from whence *Alexander* had drawn his Troops, to purſue the Enemy, and left a vacant Space, was ſo much weaken'd, that ſome of the *Indian* and *Perſian* Horſe had penetrated as far as the *Macedonian* Baggage; and a dreadful Conflict happen'd there; for the *Perſians* ruſh'd boldly forwards againſt the *Macedonians*, who were chiefly unarm'd, and never ſuſpected that a ſmall Party would dare to attack them, and break their double Phalanx. The *Barbarian* Captives alſo, ſeeing the *Macedonians* in this Diſtreſs, by the *Perſians*, roſe up againſt them in the Heat of the Battle. But the Captains of thoſe Forces, who were placed as a Rere-guard to the firſt Phalanx, perceiving this Defeat of their Countrymen, immediately faced about, (according to their Orders) and came upon the Backs of the *Perſians*, and, finding them

[2] Here *Curtius* has fallen into another Error, by telling this ſame Story of ſaving the Baggage, and ſubſtituting *Amyntas*, inſtead of *Symmias*, *lib.* iv. *cap.* 15. 12. and, what is a much greater Wonder, *Freinſhemius* gives him ſome Countenance, by ſaying, that tho' one *Amyntas* was abſent, raiſing Recruits, there were many of the Name, and this might be one of them. This Name of *Amyntas*, was always look'd upon as a Miſtake; and *Acidalius*, *Modius*, and *Raderus*, three Commentators, were of Opinion, it ought to be *Menidas*; but this was only Gueſs-work. However, I wonder that *Freinſhemius*, who was ſo quick-ſighted, ſhould not perceive that the ſame Story which *Curtius* tells us of *Amyntas*, *Arrian* gives us of *Symmias*, who was his Brother, and Succeſſor in the Poſt. Beſides, *Curtius* has not only aſſured us, that this *Amyntas* was diſpatch'd into *Macedonia*, to raiſe Recruits, immediately after the Siege of *Gaza*, *lib.* iv. *cap.* 6. 10. but he alſo gives us notice of his Return, with Six thouſand Foot, to *Alexander* at *Babylon*, after the Battle of *Arbela*, *lib.* v. *cap.* 1. 40.

intangled among the Baggage, ſlew many: The reſt eſcaped by Flight. But the Right Wing of the *Perſian* Army, who had not yet heard of *Darius's* Flight, ſet themſelves in Oppoſition to *Alexander's* Left, and falling, obliquely, upon *Parmenio's* Troop, did great Execution among them.

CHAP. XV.

IN the mean time, while the *Macedonian* Affairs hung thus in Suſpence, *Parmenio* diſpatch'd a Meſſenger to acquaint *Alexander* with his Danger, and beg his Aſſiſtance. When *Alexander* underſtood this, he immediately left off the Purſuit, and returning to the Army, with his auxiliary Forces, ruſh'd with great Fury upon the Right Wing of the *Barbarians:* His firſt Attack was made upon the Enemies Light Horſe, namely, the *Parthians*, ſome *Indians*, and *Perſians*, which laſt were both the ſtouteſt, and moſt numerous; and then happen'd a far more dreadful Scene, than any of the former; for the *Barbarians*, ſtill keeping their Ranks, begun to face about, to meet *Alexander*; and then, there was no caſting of Darts, nor dextrous Management of Horſes, as is common in Equeſtrian Battles, but every one ſtrove to diſmount his Foe, and, as if their whole Safety had depended on their Succeſs that way, they proceeded to give Wounds, and receive them, to ſmite, and be ſmitten, as if each particular Perſon had endeavoured to procure a Victory for himſelf, and not for another. In this Conflict, about Sixty of *Alexander's* auxiliary Forces were ſlain, and *Hephæſtion*, *Cænus*, and *Menidas* wounded. But even here, the *Macedonians* had the Advantage; for the *Barbarians*, not

not able to endure their Rage any longer, begun to conſult their Safety, by a precipitate Flight. And now *Alexander* had almoſt arrived at the Enemies Right Wing, which he alſo deſign'd to have encounter'd; but the *Theſſalian* Horſe having already attack'd them, with great Valour, little remain'd to be done; for he no ſooner appear'd, with his Forces, than they quitted their Stations, and fled. *Alexander* therefore returning to his Purſuit of *Darius*, left not off till the Night compell'd him; and *Parmenio*, with his Troops, alſo purſued as far as they could. *Alexander* paſſing the River [1] *Lycus*, there encamp'd, to give his Men, and their Horſes, a little Refreſhment. Mean while, *Parmenio* ſeiz'd upon the Enemies Tents, and ſecured all their Baggage, Elephants, and Camels. *Alexander* having given his auxiliary Troops ſome Reſt, aroſe, about Mid-night, and haſted to [2] *Arbela*, hoping there

[1] By this we may plainly perceive, that the Field of Battle was on this Side that River.

[2] 'Tis ſtrange, that *Curtius* ſhould, every where, mention *Arbela* as the neareſt Place to the Field where this Battle was fought, when the contrary is ſo apparent. He has fallen into many Errors on this very Account; for, in regard to Situation, he places it firſt on this Side the *Tygris*, *lib.* iv. *cap.* 9. 7. and in leſs Compaſs than that of one Chapter, he places it beyond the *Tygris*, *lib.* iv. *cap.* 9. 14.— The Truth is, *Arbela* was not only beyond the *Tygris*, but alſo beyond the *Lycus*. Secondly, he calls *Arbela* a Village, memorable for nothing but that Battle; whereas it was then a large City, and the Capital of a Province, as is manifeſt from *Strabo*, *lib.* xvi. Beſides, it is not at all probable, that *Darius* would now lodge all his Treaſures, and Royal Furniture, in a ſmall Village, or ordinary Caſtle, when we find that, before the Battle of *Iſſus*, he ſent them, for Security, as far as *Damaſcus*. But this is not all; *Arbela* was Six hundred Stadia diſtant from the Field of Battle, which makes Seventy-five *Engliſh* Miles, as is manifeſt from *Arrian*, *lib.* vi. *cap.* 11. Moreover, he tells us, that when *Alexander* had purſued the Enemy a good Way from the Field, even beyond the River *Lycus*, till his Men were weary, he ſuffered them to take ſome Reſt; but riſing again at Mid-night, he haſted to *Arbela*, where he arrived not before the next Day. In a Word, the Battle was fought at a Village call'd *Gaugamela*, as is evident from *Arrian*, *Strabo*, and *Plutarch*;

there not only to ſeize upon *Darius*, but all his Treaſures, and Royal Furniture. The next Day, he arrived there, having already purſued the Fugitives about Six hundred Furlongs. But he could not find *Darius* there; for he, not daring to truſt himſelf any where, found Reſt no where: but the Royal Treaſures, and Furniture, fell into his Hands, and *Darius*'s Chariot, and Shield, and Bow, came again into the Conqueror's Power. Of the *Macedonian* Horſemen, about One hundred fell in that Battle; but a Thouſand Horſes were loſt, partly by Wounds received in Fight, and partly by being over-heated in the Purſuit; nigh one half of which Number, belong'd to the auxiliary Forces. Of the *Barbarians*, no fewer than [3] Three hundred thouſand are ſaid to have been ſlain; and that the Number of Priſoners was much greater. All the Elephants, and all the Chariots, which were not broke in the Fight, were now taken. This Battle was thus won, in the Month *Puanepſion*, when *Ariſtophanes* was Archon at *Athens*: And hereby the Prediction of *Ariſtander* was accompliſhed, *(viz.)* That before the Month was fully paſt, in which the Eclipſe of the Moon happen'd, *Alexander* ſhould both fight a Battle, and obtain a Victory.

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and as *Curtius* calls *Arbela* a Village, ſome Criticks think he is in an Error only in the Name of the Place, and that he intended to have wrote *Gaugamela*; but that this is falſe, will appear afterwards.

[3] I cannot forbear wondering why *Arrian* ſhould make ſuch an unaccountable Difference here, between the Numbers of the *Macedonians*, and *Perſians*, who fell in this Battle. That an Army of leſs than Fifty thouſand Men, ſhould kill Three hundred Thouſand upon the Spot, is incredible: One, or both of theſe Numbers, muſt be therefore faulty. But of this, ſee more in the Criticiſm prefix'd to this Work.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

DARIUS, immediately after this Battle, fled thro' the mountainous Tract of [1] *Armenia*, into *Media*, and with him were the *Bactrians*, and ſome *Perſians* of his Kindred, beſides a few of the *Melophori*.

[1] *Curtius, lib.* v. *cap.* 1. 3. tells us, that *Darius* fled from the Field of Battle to *Arbela*, which Place he reach'd about Mid-night: — and *Raderus* aſſures us, that Six hundred Furlongs, or Seventy-five *Engliſh* Miles, was a vaſt Way to ride in ſo ſhort a Time.— So think I too. Now, that *Curtius* muſt mean, the Middle of the Night immediately ſucceeding the Day of Battle, is manifeſt; for had it been the Night after, *Alexander* had been there before him; and then he could have expected but a ſorry Welcome. That this Battle was fought, or at leaſt finiſh'd, in the Afternoon, is probable, becauſe *Alexander*, in the Purſuit, could reach no further than the River *Lycus* that Night, which is Eighty Furlongs, or Ten *Engliſh* Miles, from the Field: Then, giving his Soldiers a little Reſt, he march'd forward again, at Mid-night, and reach'd *Arbela*, the next Day, which was above Sixty Miles further. Now the Wonder is, how *Darius* could fly as far, in five or ſix Hours, as *Alexander* could purſue in, perhaps, eighteen or twenty, when every body knows *Alexander's* Speed in marching? However, *Arrian* has clear'd up the Caſe, by aſſuring us, that *Darius* never came near *Arbela*, but directed his Flight thro' *Armenia* into *Media*, a very different Way: And *Diodorus, lib.* xvii. *p.* 538. plainly tells us, he haſted to *Ecbatana*. *Plutarch, Vit. Alex. p.* 22. *Ed. Steph.* ſays, that "*Darius*, ſeeing the "Battle loſt, and finding his Chariot ſo entangled among the dead "Bodies, that he could not free it, was forced to quit it, and having "mounted a Mare, which had newly foal'd, betook himſelf to "Flight."— A Mare that had newly foal'd, or a Mare big with Foal, are not uſually ſo expeditious. One Thing more, I cannot forbear taking Notice of: *Curtius* tells us, that "the Stench of the Carcaſſes "of thoſe ſlain in this Battle, had ſo infected the Air, that *Alexander* "was obliged to remove from *Arbela*, ſooner than he deſign'd; — *lib.* v. *cap.* 1. 11. It muſt be a prodigious Stench indeed, or *Alexander's* Men muſt have quick Noſes, who could ſmell it at Seventy-five Miles Diſtance. Beſides, *Alexander* could have no Deſign of tarrying at *Arbela*, any longer than to ſecure the Treaſures, and Royal Furniture there; neither had he, perhaps, gone there at all, but to

Melophori. About Two thouſand foreign Mercenaries alſo accompanied him, commanded by *Paron* the *Phocæan*, and *Glaucus* the *Ætolian.* He took his Flight, thus precipitately, into *Media*, becauſe he imagined *Alexander* would, immediately after this Battle, haſte to *Suſa* and *Babylon*; for all that Country is not only extreamly populous, but commodious for marching an Army thro'; and beſides, *Babylon*, and *Suſa*, ſeem'd to be deſtin'd as the Rewards of that Day's Action: whereas the Ways into *Media*, were by no means commodious for the March of a great Army. And in that, *Darius*'s Judgment was juſt; for when *Alexander* left *Arbela*, he haſted ſtraight to [2] *Babylon*, which City, when he came nigh, he drew up his whole Army

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ſeize them. *Babylon*, *Suſa*, and *Perſepolis*, were the Places he aim'd at, and *Darius* knew that well enough; for which Reaſon, he directed his Flight to *Ecbatana* in *Media*. All theſe Errors ariſe from *Curtius*'s firſt Miſtake, of imagining *Arbela* nigh the Field of Battle. He has been guilty of another Error, in the very next Line, by placing *Arabia Felix* on their Left Hand, as they paſs'd from *Arbela* to *Babylon*; but that has been already taken Notice of, in the Criticiſm prefix'd to this Work.

[2] *Curtius* has given us a vaſt Deſcription of the City of *Babylon*, which, in the firſt place, is liable to numberleſs Exceptions, as may be plainly perceived from his Commentators; and, ſecondly, were it never ſo juſt, it is nothing to his purpoſe, as an Hiſtorian. But 'tis his way, to trifle away his own Time, and tire out his Reader's Patience, with long Speeches, which were never ſpoke, and impertinent Deſcriptions of Rivers, Mountains, Towns, and Countries, which none but a Geographer ought to attempt, and which plainly ſhew, he either never read, or did not underſtand, the Geographers who wrote before him. I ſhall paſs by his Account of the Country between *Euphrates* and *Tygris*, "the Soil of which, he ſays, is ſo "fruitful, that the Inhabitants are reported not to ſuffer their Cattle "to feed too freely, leſt they ſhould ſurfeit;" *lib.* v. *cap.* 1. 11. This important piece of natural Philoſophy, I leave to be decided by a Synod of Country-Graſiers, whenever they can be lawfully conven'd. The Breadth, Heighth, or Circuit of the Walls of *Babylon*, were nothing to *Curtius*; they gave *Alexander* no Trouble in taking them. The famous Gardens, the Bridge, and even the Citadel itſelf, ought not to have been taken notice of, unleſs ſomething remarkable had then happen'd, to have given the Occaſion.

in

in Order of Battle. But the *Babylonians*, having Notice of his Approach, threw open their Gates, and, in vaſt Multitudes, with their Prieſts, and chief Men, went out to meet him, offering him great Gifts, beſides delivering the City, the Tower, and the Royal Treaſure into his Hands. *Alexander* entering the City, commanded the *Babylonians* to rebuild the Temples there, which *Xerxes* had deſtroy'd, and eſpecially the Temple of *Belus*, whom the *Babylonians* worſhipped, as their chief God. He conſtituted *Mazæus*, Governor of the City, *Apollodorus* of *Amphipolis*, Captain of thoſe Troops left with *Mazæus*, and *Aſclepiodorus* the Son of *Philo*, Gatherer of the Tribute. He alſo ſent *Methrines* (who had deliver'd the Caſtle of *Sardis* into his Poſſeſſion) to be Governor of *Armenia*. He conſulted the *Chaldæans* in this City, about the Reſtauration of the Temples; and whatever they adviſed, he performed; and, in particular, by their Advice, he offered Sacrifices to *Belus*. Taking his Leave of *Babylon*, he march'd for *Suſa*, and was met, on his Way, by the Governor's Son, and a Meſſenger, with a Letter, from *Philoxenus*, whom he had diſpatch'd directly thither, from the Field of Battle. The Subſtance of the Letter was, That the *Suſians* had deliver'd their City into his Poſſeſſion, and all the Royal Treaſure was ſafe. On the Twentieth Day, after his Departure from *Babylon*, he arrived at *Suſa*, and entering the City, took Poſſeſſion of all the Money, amounting to [3] Fifty thouſand Talents, beſides the Royal Furniture. Many other Things were found there, which

[3] *Arrian, Curtius, lib.* v. *cap.* 2. and *Diodorus, lib.* xvii. *p.* 540. here agree in the Sum of Fifty thouſand Talents, tho' *Plutarch, p.* 24. and *Juſtin, lib.* xi. *cap.* 14. have it but Forty thouſand. A Talent is reckon'd to amount to 187 *l.* 10 *s.* Sterling; ſo that *Alexander*, according to *Arrian*'s Account, became Maſter of 9,365,000 *l.* that is, Nine Millions Three hundred and Sixty-five thouſand Pounds Sterling, at this Place.

Xerxes

Xerxes had, formerly, carried out of *Greece*; particularly, the brazen Statues of *Harmodius*, and *Ariſtogiton*; Theſe he ſent back to *Athens*, and they are to be ſeen at this Day, placed in the *Ceramicus*, near the Aſcent into the City, from the Diſtrict call'd *Metroos*, hard by the Altar of *Eudanemus*, which, whoever has been initiated in the *Eleuſinian* Rites, knows to ſtand in the *Portico*. Here, *Alexander* ſacrificed with lighted Torches, after the Cuſtom of his Country, and exhibited *Gymnick* and *Muſical* Sports. And then, leaving [4] *Abulites*, a *Perſian*, Governor of the Country round *Suſa*, [5] *Mazarus*, one of his Friends, Commander of the Caſtle, and *Archelaus* the Son of *Theodorus* Captain of the Forces, he directed his March againſt the *Perſians*. He alſo ſent *Menetes* into the Maritime Parts, having made him Governor of *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and *Cilicia*, to whom he

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[4] He dealt with *Abulites* here, as he did, in the preceding Chapter, with *Mazæus*. *Mazæus*, being Governor of *Babylon*, deliver'd it into his Hands; whereupon *Alexander* continued him in his Government, but conſtituted *Apollodorus* of *Amphipolis* Governor of the Caſtle. So here, *Abulites* having deliver'd up *Suſa*, was continued in his Poſt, but the Command over the Forces, left to ſecure the Province, was given to *Archelaus*, and the Government of the Caſtle to *Mazarus*.

[5] *Curtius* tells us, he gave the Command of the Caſtle to *Xenophilus*, and made *Callicrates* Treaſurer, *lib.* v. *cap.* 2. 16. The firſt, *Arrian* contradicts; and neither of their Names are to be found in any other Author. He then acquaints us, how *Alexander* preſented *Darius*'s Mother with ſome rich Purple Garments, of his own Siſter's making, as a Pattern for her Grand-daughters to make him ſome of the ſame Sort; which they taking as an Affront, he made an Apology for himſelf, by pleading his Ignorance of their Cuſtoms; "And ſince I underſtood, ſays he, that the Cuſtom of your Country "looks upon it as a Fault, for a Son to ſit down in his Mother's Pre- "ſence, without her Permiſſion, I have always waited for your "Command, before I ſat down, *&c.*—— What a prodigious Courtier is *Alexander* commenc'd, all on a ſudden! What it is to keep good Company! He might have tarried on the other Side of the *Helleſpont*, till he had been as grey as a Badger, and never have been Maſter of ſo much good Manners.

deliver'd

deliver'd Three thouſand Talents of Silver, with Orders that as much thereof as was neceſſary, ſhould be convey'd by Sea to *Antipater*, to carry on the War againſt the *Lacedæmonians*. Thither, arrived *Amyntas* the Son of *Andromenes*, with an Army of new-rais'd Men, from *Macedonia*: The Horſe, belonging to which, he incorporated with his auxiliary Troops; but the Foot were diſtributed, each into the Troop belonging to his own Nation. He alſo appointed two *Decurio's* to every Troop, whereas, before this Time, there were no *Decurio's* in the Horſe Service; and thoſe he choſe out of the Number of his Auxiliaries, who had already ſerved him with the greateſt Courage and Fidelity.

CHAP. XVII.

AFTER this, moving with his Army from *Suſa*, he paſs'd the River [1] *Paſitigris*, and enter'd the Territories of the *Uxii*. Thoſe *Uxii*, who inhabited the open Country, and had, before, been ſubject to the *Perſians*, promiſed him Obedience; but the Mountaineers, who never ſtoop'd to the *Perſian* Yoke, ſent him word, that they would not ſuffer him to march, with his Army, againſt the *Perſians*, unleſs he would allow them as much for his Paſſage, as the *Perſian* Monarchs were wont to allow. *Alexander* ſent back the Meſſengers, with Orders, that they ſhould block up thoſe Streights, whereby they deſign'd to put a Stop to his intended March, and there receive their uſual Tribute.

[1] The impertinent Deſcription of this River, in *Curtius, lib.* iv. *cap.* 3. 1. is taken notice of in the Criticiſm prefix'd to this Work.

He,

[2] He, in the mean time, accompanied with his Royal Cohort, his Targeteers, and about Eight thouſand others, by the Direction of ſome *Suſian* Guides, enter'd their Country, by Night, another Way, much leſs frequented, but more difficult; and the next Day, came into ſome of the *Uxian* Villages, where he took much Spoil, and ſlew many of the Inhabitants, whom they ſurprized aſleep; others fled to the Mountains. *Alexander*, hereupon, march'd ſpeedily to theſe Streights, to which he obſerved the *Uxians* flocking, in great Numbers, in hopes of the accuſtom'd Tribute, for the Paſſage of an Army. But he had diſpatch'd *Craterus* before, to ſeize the Tops of the Mountains, whither, he imagined, the Enemy would retire, if reduced to Extremities. He, haſtening his March, ſeiz'd upon the Paſs, and having drawn up his Forces in Order of

[2] *Curtius*, *lib.* iv. *cap.* 3. 6. tells us, "He diſpatch'd *Tauron* upon "this Expedition, who appearing above the Walls of the Town, the "Place was ſurrender'd; but the greateſt part of the Defendants re-"tired into the Caſtle, from whence they ſent Thirty Embaſſa-"dors, *&c.*"—— How eaſy it is, for a Man to make a fine Story, if he has no Regard to Truth! What he fathers upon *Tauron*, *Arrian*, with ſome Variety of Circumſtances, aſcribes to *Craterus*.— Then he proceeds: "The Townſmen privately diſpatch'd Meſſengers to "*Darius*'s Mother, to intercede for them; for the Governor had "married her Niece."—— This is the moſt unlikely Story in the World; for as theſe Mountaineers were profeſs'd Enemies to the *Perſians*, as well as to *Alexander*, it is not at all probable, that any Governor of theirs, ſhould marry a Kinſwoman of *Darius*.— However, he tells us, "She at laſt conſented to undertake the Task, and obtain'd "her Requeſt."—— And to ſhew us how great the Conqueror's Clemency was, he aſſures us, *lib.* v. *cap.* 3. 15. "That *Alexander* not "only pardoned *Medathes*, the Governor, but all the reſt, without "Diſtinction, and gave them their Liberty. He alſo permitted them "to enjoy their Lands, and Poſſeſſions, without Tribute. And then, all in Raptures, he concludes, "What more than this, could a Mother "have obtain'd, even of her own Son?—— What more, indeed? I much queſtion, whether he would have been half ſo complaiſant to his Mother *Olympias*. But the Miſchief is, this laſt Paragraph is every Tittle falſe; for *Arrian* aſſures us, that *Alexander* impoſed a Tribute upon them of One hundred War-Horſes, Five hundred Baggage-Horſes, and Thirty thouſand Head of Cattle.

Battle,

Battle, attack'd the *Barbarians*, from the higheſt, and moſt advantagious Station. They, being in a Conſternation at the Suddenneſs of his Arrival, and ſeeing thoſe Places ſeiz'd, wherein they chiefly truſted, without ſtriking a Blow, betook themſelves to Flight. However, many of them fell by *Alexander*'s Soldiers, in the Purſuit, and many tumbled down from the Rocks, and Precipices; while others, endeavouring to eſcape over the Tops of the Mountains, were ſeiz'd, and ſlain by *Craterus*'s Forces. Being thus rewarded for their ſecuring the Paſſage thro' the Streights, [3] they, after much Interceſſion, at laſt obtain'd a Grant from *Alexander*, to remain quietly in Poſſeſſion of their antient Territories, upon their agreeing to pay an annual Tribute. *Ptolomey* the Son of *Lagus* tells us, that *Darius*'s Mother was their Mediator to *Alexander*, who, upon her Account, reſtored them their Poſſeſſions. The Tribute impoſed upon them was, a Hundred Horſes for War, Five hundred Baggage-Horſes, and Thirty thouſand Head of Cattle; for the *Uxii* had no Money among them, nor were their Lands fit for Tillage, but moſt of them employ'd themſelves in breeding, and feeding Cattle.

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[3] By this, it is plain, that it was not the Citizens of one particular City, coop'd up in a Caſtle, who obtain'd theſe Terms, as *Curtius* inſinuates; neither was *Alexander* ſo vaſtly generous, nor ſo wondrouſly merciful, as he would make us believe; but it was the whole Body of the Mountaineers, in general; for the *Uxians*, inhabiting the plain Country, had ſurrender'd before.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

ALEXANDER, then, diſpatch'd *Parmenio*, with the Carriages and Baggage, as alſo the *Theſſalian* Horſe, the Royal Cohort, the foreign Mercenaries, and the reſt of the heavy-arm'd Soldiers, againſt the *Perſians*, and order'd him to chuſe a Road fit for Chariots; while He, with the *Macedonian* Foot, the auxiliary Horſe, and the Forlorn Hope, as alſo the *Agrians*, and Archers, march'd, a nearer Way, thro' the Mountains. When he came to the [1] *Perſian Streights*, he found that *Ariobarzanes*, with an Army of [2] Forty thouſand Foot, and about Seven thouſand Horſe, had block'd up the Entrance, with a Wall, which he had fortified with Towers, to ſecure the Paſſage. The firſt Day, *Alexander* encamp'd his Army there; the

[1] *Curtius*, by Miſtake, calls theſe, *Pylæ Suſiæ*, or the *Suſian Streights*. He tells us, that "*Alexander*, after Three Days Journey, enter'd *Perſia*, and on the Fifth, the *Pylæ Suſiæ*."—— Here, I would ask, in the firſt place, How he could enter *Perſia*, Two Days before he came to the *Suſian Streights*, unleſs he ſuppoſes the *Suſian Streights* in the Middle of *Perſia*; which is Nonſenſe? And, ſecondly, Suppoſing theſe *Streights* to be at the very Entrance into *Perſia*, how can they be call'd the *Suſian Streights*, when the whole Country of the *Uxians*, as well the Champaign as Mountainous Part, lay between? *Arrian* calls them, properly enough, the *Perſian Streights*. *Curtius*, who almoſt always follows *Diodorus* implicitly, and ſeldom varies from him, but for the worſe; copied this Error from him. See *Diodorus*, *lib.* xvii. *p.* 541.

[2] Some of the firſt Editions of *Curtius*, allow *Ariobarzanes* but Fifteen thouſand Foot. See *Snakenb. p.* 332. But his later Editors have given him Twenty-five thouſand, according to *Diodorus*, *lib.* xvii. *p.* 541. and I wonder they did not alſo add the Three hundred Horſe, which *Diodorus* equips him with. The Circumſtance of a Wall, wherewith thoſe *Streights* were ſhut up, neither *Curtius*, nor *Diodorus* take any notice of.

next,

next, with a choice Party, he determined to ſtorm the Wall. But as the ſtorming thereof, ſeem'd a Work of great Difficulty, by reaſon of the advantagious Situation of the Enemy, and that many of his Soldiers were already wounded, ſome by Stones roll'd down the Precipices, others by Darts from the Engines, he cauſed a Retreat to be ſounded, and withdrew his Forces: For [3] ſome of his Captives had promiſed to conduct him to the further Side of theſe Streights, another Way; but when he heard that that Paſs was alſo dangerous, and narrow, he left *Craterus*, and his Camp, there, and with him, his own Troop, *Meleager*'s Forces, ſome of the Archers, and about Five hundred Horſe, with Orders, that when he perceived he had paſs'd the Streights, and drew near the *Perſian* Camp, (which he might eaſily do, by the Sound of the Trumpets) he ſhould aſſault the Wall. *Alexander*, with his Targeteers, and *Perdiccas*'s Troop, his light-arm'd Archers, and *Agrians*, the Royal Cohort, and One hundred choice Horſe beſides, having paſs'd a hundred Furlongs, by Night, arrived at theſe Streights, by an intricate Road, according to the Direction of his Guides; but order'd *Amyntas*, *Philotas*, and [4] *Cœnus* to lead the reſt of the Forces thro' the plain Country. He laid a Bridge over the River, which was to be paſs'd, before he enter'd into *Perſia*, and, in ſpite of the Difficulty

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[3] *Curtius*, *lib.* v. *cap.* 4. 4. tells us, his chief, if not his only, Guide, was a *Lycian*, who had been, formerly, taken Priſoner by the *Perſians*, and was, now, a Shepherd; and had travell'd the Country; as alſo, that *Alexander* had been foretold by an Oracle, That his Guide into *Perſia*, ſhould be a *Lycian*; which made him rely upon him. He has made a prodigious long Story of it, as he generally does of ſuch Things, the greateſt part of which, is nothing to his Purpoſe, and much of it falſe. *Plutarch*, *p.* 24. *Ed. Steph.* ſays, the Guide's Father was a *Lycian*, but his Mother a *Perſian*, and that he ſpoke both Languages.— This is much the moſt likely.

[4] *Curtius* adds, *Polypercon*.

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of the Road, perform'd it with incredible Haſte. Arriving, therefore, at the firſt Station of the *Barbarians*, before Day-light, he ſlew their Watch: Afterwards, reaching the ſecond, and having ſlain moſt of theirs, when he came at the third, the greateſt part of them fled: but even thoſe carried no Intelligence to the Camp of *Ariobarzanes*, but being ſtruck with a ſudden Conſternation, every one eſcaped, by the higheſt Way he could, to the Mountains; ſo that, when Day-light appeared, the Enemies Camp received an unexpected Aſſault. As ſoon as they came to the Intrenchment, which ſurrounded the Camp, *Craterus* hearing the Sound of their Trumpets, attack'd the Wall on the other Side. The Enemy then, in great Amazement, endeavoured to ſecure themſelves by Flight, without ſo much as ſtriking a Blow; but finding themſelves incloſed on all Hands, *Alexander* puſhing them forwards, and *Craterus* meeting them, many of them were conſtrained to direct their Flight to the Wall; but that was already ſeiz'd by the *Macedonians*: for *Alexander*, imagining what afterwards happen'd, had order'd *Ptolemey* there, with Three thouſand Foot. The greateſt Part of the *Barbarians* were ſlain; even many of them, endeavouring to eſcape by the Mountains, were ſtruck with ſudden Terrors, and fell down the Rocks: however, [5] *Ariobarzanes*, accompanied

[5] This is the moſt romantick Story, as *Curtius* tells it, *lib.* v. *cap.* 4. 33. and really the moſt improbable one, I ever read. "*Ario-*" *barzanes*, he ſays, with Forty Horſe; — I cannot imagine how he came by them, for he had none at firſt, according to his Account, *cap.* 3. 17. — "and Five thouſand Foot, broke thro' the main Body "of the *Macedonians*, and with the Loſs of many of his own Men, "and the Slaughter of many of his Foes, got ſafe to *Perſepolis*; but "being excluded by the Garriſon, he return'd, and renew'd the Fight; "and by the Time that *Craterus* had join'd the King, he was ſlain, "and all his Followers." —— *Arrian* tells us nothing, either of his Death, or his Flight to *Perſepolis*; only, with much more Probability, aſſures us, he fled thro' the mountainous Country, and made his

accompanied with a few Horſe, fled to the Mountains. *Alexander*, then, returning in Haſte to the River, which he had paſs'd before, and making the Bridge of ſufficient Strength, brought over his whole Army. Thence, by long Marches, he haſted againſt the *Perſians*, that he might ſurprize the Royal Treaſures, where-ever he came, before any Notice could be carried of his Arrival. At *Paſargadæ*, he ſeiz'd upon the [6] Money which had belonged to *Cyrus*, and made *Phraſaortes* the Son of *Rheomithras* Governor of *Perſia*. The Royal [7] Palace of the *Perſian* Monarchs he burnt, much againſt the

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Eſcape: And indeed, it is no great Wonder; for *chap.* xxiii. he acquaints us, that *Artabazus*, with three of his Sons, *Cophen*, *Ariobarzanes*, and *Arſames*, came and ſurrender'd themſelves to *Alexander*, nigh *Zadracarta*. *Curtius*, after this, gives us a ſtrange Story, which he ſpins out to the Length of a whole Chapter, (*viz.*) "When *Alexander* drew nigh *Perſepolis*, he ſaw a miſerable Spectacle; for almoſt "Four thouſand *Greek* Captives met him, whom the *Perſians* had "uſed barbarouſly, by cutting off the Feet of ſome, the Hands, or "Ears, of others, and branding them all with a hot Iron, whereon "were *Perſian* Letters, for a perpetual Badge of their Slavery, and "the others Hatred." —— *Diodorus*, *lib.* xvii. *p.* 542. and *Juſtin*, *lib.* xi. *cap.* 14. and *Suidas* in Ἀλέξανδρος, ſay, the Number of thoſe Captives was no more than Eight hundred; but *Plutarch*, and *Arrian* have entirely omitted the Story, undoubtedly becauſe they ſuſpected the Truth of it. The Reaſon why I do not approve of this Story, is, becauſe it is highly improbable, that thoſe Citizens, who had excluded *Ariobarzanes*, for fear of *Alexander*, would afterwards preſume to exaſperate him, by mangling his Countrymen, in ſo barbarous a manner; and if they had done ſo, it is ſtill more improbable, they would have deliver'd up themſelves, and their City, ſo tamely as they did, without ſtriking a Stroke.

[6] *Curtius* tells us, *lib.* v. *cap.* 6. 10. that *Alexander* ſeiz'd Six thouſand Talents here. He calls it *Perſagada*, and ſays, *Gobares* the Governor delivered it up.

[7] The burning of *Perſepolis*, *Curtius* has given us at large, *lib.* v. *cap.* 7. and affirms, that *Thais*, a noted Harlot, was the firſt Propoſer of ſetting it on Fire. *Plutarch* gives us an Account of *Thais*, but he tells it as a Story, which, in all likelihood, he gave little Credit to. That the Royal Palace there, was ſet on Fire, none doubts; and that it was done by Deſign, all Authors agree; but the Story of *Thais* is delivered, as a Truth, by none but himſelf, and *Diodorus*, *lib.* xvii. *p.* 545.

the Will of *Parmenio*, who intreated him to leave it untouch'd, not only becauſe it was improper to ſpoil and deſtroy what he had gain'd by his Valour, but that he would thereby diſoblige the *Aſiatics*, and render them leſs benevolent to him; for they would then ſuppoſe, that he would not keep *Aſia* in his Poſſeſſion, but abandon it, as ſoon as it was conquer'd, and laid waſte. To which *Alexander* made Anſwer, That he was reſolved to revenge the antient Injuries his Country had received by the *Perſians*, who, when they arrived, with their Army, in *Greece*, ſubverted *Athens*, burnt their Temples, and committed many other barbarous Devaſtations there. But this, in my Opinion, ſeems to have been no prudent or politick Action in *Alexander*, and was no Revenge upon the [8] *Perſians* at all.

Curtius adds, that no leſs than One hundred and twenty thouſand Talents, in Money, were found there, *lib.* v. *cap.* 6. 9. tho' *Plutarch* ſeems not to allow this Booty in Money, to be richer than the former at *Suſa*; but adds, that of other Moveables, and Treaſures, there was ſeiz'd as much as a Thouſand Pair of Mules, and Five hundred Camels could well carry away. *Vid. Plut. Steph. p.* 24. — That the Name of *Perſepolis*, was given this Place by the *Greeks*, is unqueſtionable; but of this, ſee more in the Criticiſm prefix'd to this Work. *Curtius* is guilty of a groſs Error, *lib.* v. *c.* 7. 9. by ſaying, that "the City of *Perſepolis* "was ſo far from being rebuilt, that, unleſs the River *Araxes* run near "it, there are not left the leaſt Signs, to gueſs at the Place where it "ſtood, *&c.*" —— Now what if I ſhould ſay, it was never ruined? I am ſure, neither *Arrian*, nor *Strabo*, nor even *Diodorus*, whom *Curtius* commonly copies, acquaint us with the burning of any thing but the Royal Palace. Beſides, *Arrian* mentions *Alexander*'s Return to *Perſepolis*, after his Expedition into *India*, and *Diodorus* talks of *Perſepolis* ſtill as the Metropolis, in the Diviſion of the Empire among *Alexander*'s Succeſſors, *lib.* xix. *Antiochus* is alſo ſaid to have attempted to reduce *Perſepolis*, *Maccab.* ix. 2.

[8] This is certainly a juſt Remark of *Arrian*; for had *Alexander* taken this Place by Surprize, and been obliged to quit it again, it had been no impolitick Action, to have ſet the Palace on Fire; but as the Caſe ſtood, he did not ſet Fire to one of the *Perſian* Palaces, but to a Palace of his own.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

ALEXANDER, then, directed his March into *Media*; for he had received Information, that *Darius* was there. Now *Darius* had determined with himſelf, if *Alexander* reſted at *Babylon*, or *Suſa*, to remain in *Media*, till he heard whether the *Macedonian* Soldiers attempted any Innovations; but if he led his Army forwards, againſt him, then he would retire into *Parthia*, and *Hyrcania*, or even into *Bactria*; and, having laid all the Country behind him waſte, render it impoſſible for *Alexander* to follow him. He, therefore, diſpatch'd the Women, and all the Royal Furniture, which he then had, and the Carriages, before him, to the *Caſpian Streights*; but He, with the few Forces, which he had newly levied, lay yet at *Ecbatana*. *Alexander* hearing this, haſted into *Media*, and entering the Country of the [1] *Paritacæ*, ſubdued it, and

[1] *Curtius* has omitted this, and, what is amazing, if any thing in ſo romantick an Author can be ſo, he calls it but "Fifteen hundred "Furlongs from *Perſepolis* to *Ecbatana*; but adds, that no Diſtance "ſeem'd great, to *Alexander*'s incredible Celerity," *lib.* v. *cap.* 8. 2.— *Arrian* tells us, that the King march'd Eleven Days, before he enter'd the Confines of *Media*, and even then, he was Three Days Journey, if not more, from *Ecbatana*.— Now what an incredible Haſte muſt *Alexander* make, to march Fifteen hundred Furlongs, or One hundred and eighty-ſeven Miles, in Fourteen Days? 'Tis above Thirteen Miles *per* Day. I am miſtaken, if one of our Country Turkey-drivers would not hurry on his Flock much faſter. *Plutarch* lends us ſome Light to this Story, *p.* 27. by telling us, that *Alexander* in Eleven Days march'd Three thouſand three hundred Furlongs, which is near Thirty-eight Miles *per* Day; after which, he had ſtill Three Days Journey to *Ecbatana*, and perhaps more: So that the whole Diſtance could not be leſs than Four thouſand Furlongs, or Five hundred Miles.

and appointed *Oxathres* the Son of *Abulitas* Governor thereof, who had before been Preſident of *Suſa*. And when he received Notice, that *Darius* was reſolved to meet him, and try the Fortune of another Battle, (for the *Scythians*, and *Caduſians* had come in, to his Aſſiſtance) having ordered his Carriages, and Royal Furniture, to follow him, under a Guard; he, with all his Forces, march'd forwards, in Order of Battle, and on the Twelfth Day, pitch'd his Tents in *Media*, where he ſoon underſtood, that *Darius* was in no Condition to meet him, with the Forces he then had; as alſo, that neither the *Caduſians*, nor *Scythians* had join'd him; and that he repoſed all his Safety in a ſpeedy Flight; for which Reaſon, he was reſolved to be the more haſty in his Purſuit. And when he came within Three Days Journey of *Ecbatana*, he was met by *Biſthanes* the Son of *Ochus*, who reign'd in *Perſia* before *Darius*: He acquainted *Alexander*, that it was now the Fifth Day, ſince *Darius* had fled from thence, having carried out of *Media*, Seven thouſand Talents of Silver, and having with him, an Army of [2] Three thouſand Horſe, and Six thouſand Foot. When *Alexander* arrived at [3] *Ecbatana*, he diſpatch'd the *Theſſalian*

Now if we could ſuppoſe, that *Curtius* wrote Four thouſand five hundred Furlongs, and his Tranſcribers, by Miſtake, alter'd it to One thouſand five hundred, his Account might be probable; but as I have no Authority for ſuch an Alteration, better than Gueſs-work, I ſhall leave his Numbers faulty, as I found them.

[2] *Curtius* pretends, that "*Darius* had here an Army of Thirty "thouſand Foot, (Four thouſand of whom were *Greeks*) beſides "Four thouſand Archers, and Slingers, and Three thouſand *Bactrian* "Horſe," *lib.* v. *cap.* 8. 3. — If he had, either he was the worſt General, that ever headed an Army, or they, the cowardlieſt Crew, that ever bore Arms. However, this is noted as an Error, by all Commentators.

[3] We have a ſtrange Contraction here, in *Curtius*: He had told us, *lib.* v. *cap.* 7. that "*Alexander*, having made the *Lycian*, who was "his Guide into *Perſia*, a Preſent of Thirty Talents of Silver, departed "from *Perſepolis*, and march'd into *Media*. — But now, forgetting what

[4] *Theſſalian*, and auxiliary Troops of Horſe towards the Sea-coaſt, and beſides their whole Wages, beſtowed a Gift of Two thouſand Talents upon the Soldiers; and at the ſame time publiſhed an Order, that if any of them were willing to ſerve him longer, for Wages, his Name ſhould be regiſter'd. Many of them, therefore, gave in their Names. He then order'd *Epocillus* the Son of *Polyides*, with a Guard of Horſe, to convey thoſe, to the Sea-ſide, who choſe rather to return home, than follow his Fortunes: for the *Theſſalians* ſold their Horſes there. He alſo ſent *Menetes* with them, to take care that as ſoon as they came to the Coaſt, Ships ſhould be in Readineſs, to tranſport them to *Eubœa*. [5] He afterwards order'd *Parmenio*, to lodge all the Money,

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what he had ſaid before, he ſays, *lib.* v. *cap.* 13. "that having Intel-"ligence, that *Darius* was gone from *Ecbatana*, he left the Road "which led into *Media*, and reſolved to purſue him." --- He then goes on; "When he came to *Tabas*, the laſt City of the *Paretacene*, "Deſerters inform'd him of *Darius*'s Flight into *Bactria*." —— In the firſt place, no Author, beſides himſelf, mentions any ſuch Place as *Tabas* hereabouts; ſecondly, *Biſthanes* the Son of *Ochus* met him Three Days Journey from *Ecbatana*, and told him, *Darius* had fled from thence, Five Days before; but for all that, *Alexander* proceeded on his March to *Ecbatana*, as we are aſſured both by *Arrian*, and *Strabo*; the firſt of which Authors, acquaints us, "that he carried all "the Treaſures, which he had ſeiz'd in *Perſia*, thither, which he "lodg'd in the Caſtle there, and committed them to the Charge of "*Harpalus*." And *Strabo* tells us, *lib.* xi. "they amounted to One "hundred and eighty thouſand Talents. — Eight thouſand (*Arrian* "ſays, Seven thouſand) were carried from *Ecbatana* by *Darius*, which "were, afterwards, ſeiz'd by thoſe who murder'd him." This Number of One hundred and eighty thouſand Talents, comes pretty nigh *Curtius*'s Computation, who ſays, Fifty thouſand were ſeiz'd at *Suſa*, One hundred and twenty thouſand at *Perſepolis*, and Six thouſand at *Perſagadæ*.

[4] *Plutarch* takes notice of his ſending the *Theſſalian* Horſe home, *p.* 27. *Edit. Steph.* but *Curtius* has not mention'd a Syllable of it. However, there is a vaſt Chaſm, not far from hence, and perhaps that Circumſtance may have been loſt.

[5] All the Concluſion of this Chapter, is entirely omitted by *Curtius*; and indeed, he takes up ſo much Room in long Speeches, and needleſs Deſcriptions of Places, that he neglects ſeveral Things, which would be much more material.

brought out of *Perſia*, in the Caſtle of *Ecbatana*, and deliver the Charge thereof to *Harpalus*, whom he appointed to preſide over his Treaſures there, and with whom he left a Guard of Six thouſand *Macedonians*, and ſome of his auxiliary Horſe. He then diſpatch'd him *(Parmenio)* with the Foreigners, and *Thracians*, and the reſt of the Horſe, except the Royal Cohort, along the Confines of the *Caduſians*, into *Hyrcania*. He alſo wrote to *Clitus* Captain of the Royal Cohort, that when he came from *Suſa* to *Ecbatana*, (for he was left there, for the Recovery of his Health) he ſhould take thoſe *Macedonians*, whom he had appointed to guard the Treaſures, and march with them againſt the *Parthians*, whither alſo he would ſoon follow him.

CHAP. XX.

THEN, taking with him his auxiliary Horſe, and the Forlorn Hope, with the mercenary Troops commanded by *Erigyius*, and the *Macedonian* Phalanx, (except thoſe who were appointed to guard the Treaſures) as alſo the Archers, and *Agrians*, he march'd in Purſuit of *Darius*. And notwithſtanding many of his Soldiers fainted on the Road, and many of his Horſes died, thro' exceſſive Wearineſs, he ſtill reſolved to continue the ſame Expedition; and accordingly, on the Eleventh Day, arrived at [1] *Rhages*. This City is one Day's Journey diſtant from the *Caſpian Streights*, according to *Alexander*'s Manner of marching an Army. But *Darius* had already paſs'd thro' theſe *Streights*, whereupon many of his Followers return'd to their

[1] *Curtius* has made no mention of his coming here, with an Army.

Habita-

Habitations, and not a few, ſurrender'd themſelves to *Alexander*. He then, laying aſide all Hopes of ever being able to overtake *Darius*, by the utmoſt Expedition he could make, reſted there five Days; and having refreſhed his Army, after the Fatigues of Travel, he appointed [2] *Oxydates*, a *Perſian*, (who had been taken Priſoner by *Darius*, and confined at *Suſa*) Governor of *Media*; for this Confinement of his, by *Darius*, gain'd him Credit with *Alexander*. He then march'd, with his Army, againſt the *Parthians*, and encamp'd the firſt Day near the *Caſpian Streights*, which he enter'd the Day after, and came into a fruitful Country; and as he was reſolved there to lay in a Stock of Forage for his Army, becauſe he had heard, that the inner Parts of the Country lay uncultivated, and waſte, he diſpatch'd *Cænus*, with his Horſe, and ſome Part of his Foot, to gather in Stores for that Purpoſe.

CHAP. XXI.

ABOUT this Time, [1] *Bagiſtanes* the *Babylonian*, a noted Man, and with him, *Antibelus* the Son of *Mazæus*, came to *Alexander*, from *Da-*

[2] This Promotion of *Oxydates*, is taken notice of by *Curtius*; but he places it after the Death of *Darius*.

[1] *Curtius* tells us a romantick Story of one *Melon*, *Darius*'s Interpreter, *lib.* v. *cap.* 13. 7. who, being taken, gave *Alexander* Intelligence: Afterwards, *Orſyllos*, and *Mythracenes*, two Deſerters from *Beſſus*, offered their Service, to conduct him.— Of all which, we have not a Word elſewhere.— Then he adds, "When they had tra-"vell'd Three-hundred Furlongs, they met *Brocubelus* the Son of "*Mazæus*, who aſſured them, that *Darius* was not above Two hun-"dred Furlongs off."— This *Brocubelus* is, undoubtedly, the ſame with *Arrian's Antibelus*. However, *Curtius* has miſtaken, by making him and *Bagiſthanes* come ſeparately, for they came together.

rius's Army, and acquainted him, that *Nabarzanes*, a Captain of a Thouſand Horſe, and one of thoſe who had accompanied him in his Flight, with *Beſſus* Governor of *Bactria*, and [2] *Brazas* Prefect of the *Arachoti*, and *Drangæ*, had ſeiz'd *Darius*, and held him in Cuſtody. *Alexander* hearing this, imagined there was now more need of Expedition than ever; wherefore, taking with him only his auxiliary Forces, his light Horſe, and his ſtouteſt, and beſt marching Troops of Foot, without waiting for the Return of *Cænus*, and thoſe whom he had ſent a foraging, and having given the Command of thoſe, whom he left behind, to *Craterus*, he order'd them to march moderately. Thoſe who accompanied him, carried no more than their Arms, and two Days Proviſions. Then, all that Night, they continued their March, and till Noon the next Day, when allowing his Soldiers a little Reſt, he again march'd all the next Night, and early in the Morning enter'd the Camp, from whence *Bagiſtanes* came, but found not the Enemy. There, he was aſſured, that *Darius* was carried Priſoner, in his Chariot; that *Beſſus* had uſurp'd the Imperial Title, and was named General, by the *Bactrian* Horſe, and all the other *Barbarians*, except *Artabazus*, and his Sons, and the *Greek* Mercenaries, who continued ſtill faithful to *Darius*, and could not hinder what had happen'd; but that they had left the great Road, and retired to the Mountains, refuſing to hold Correſpondence with *Beſſus*. He alſo received Advice, that thoſe who had the King in Cuſtody, had determined, if *Alexander* continued his Purſuit, to deliver him up, and conſult their own Safety; but if he left it off, they would raiſe as great an Army as they could,

[2] This *Brazas* is call'd *Barzaentes*, in ſeveral Places in *Arrian*; and that is the true Reading, this being no more than only the laſt part of the Name lopt off, and one Letter tranſpoſed, which is common enough.

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and ſhare the Empire among them; that *Beſſus* was declared General of the Army, at preſent, as well becauſe of the great Neceſſity there was for him about *Darius*'s Perſon, as becauſe he was taken Priſoner in his Province. *Alexander* hearing this, reſolved to continue his March, with all poſſible Speed; and tho' his Men, as well as their Horſes, were harraſs'd, with inceſſant Labour, he nevertheleſs proceeded, and travelling hard all that Night, and till Noon the next Day, arrived at a certain Village, where they, who led *Darius* about, had pitch'd their Tents, the Day before; and being there further aſſured, that they deſigned to march by Night, he inquired of the Inhabitants, if they knew any nigher Road, than that by which they fled, that he might the ſooner overtake them; they told him, they did; but that it led thro' a Country deſart, and deſtitute of Water. He, notwithſtanding, order'd them to be his Guides; and when he underſtood, that the Foot could not poſſibly keep Pace with the Horſe, in ſo haſty a March; he commanded about Five hundred Horſemen to alight, and the Captains of Foot, and others of their beſt Men, ſuch as were heavy-arm'd, to mount their Horſes. He alſo order'd *Nicanor*, Captain of his Targeteers, and *Attalus* Commander of the *Agrians*, to march, with thoſe who were light-arm'd, along the great Road, which *Beſſus*, and his Companions, had taken. The reſt of the Foot, were left to follow in Order. He ſet forwards at the Cloſe of the Evening, and proceeded with the utmoſt Vigour; and having march'd Four hundred Furlongs that Night, early the next Morning, came up with the *Barbarians*, who were flying, all in Diſorder, and unarm'd. A few of them drew up in Ranks, as if they had deſign'd to defend themſelves; but the greateſt part, at the firſt Sight of *Alexander*, turn'd their Backs, without ſtriking one Blow: And even when a few of thoſe, who betook themſelves

themſelves to their Arms, were [3] cut off, the reſt fled. *Beſſus*, and his Companions, ſtill carried *Darius* about in a [4] Chariot; but perceiving *Alexander* at hand, [5] *Satibarzanes*, and *Barzaentes*, after having given him ſeveral grievous Wounds there, left him; and with a Party of Six hundred Horſe, haſted away; ſoon after which, *Darius*, before *Alexander* had yet ſeen him, died of his Wounds.

CHAP. XXII.

ALEXANDER ſent the Body of *Darius* into *Perſia*, to be interr'd in the Royal *Mauſolæum* there, among the antient [1] *Perſian* Kings, his Predeceſſors.

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[3] No leſs Number than Three thouſand were ſlain here, ſays *Curtius*, *lib.* v. *cap.* 13. 19. but without any Shew of Probability.

[4] *Plutarch* aſſures us, *p.* 28. "That *Darius* was found lying along "in a Chariot, all over wounded with Darts, and juſt at the Point of "Death." However, for all this, *Curtius*, *lib.* v. *cap.* 12. 17. will have it, "That he was laid in a dirty Cart, covered with raw Hides, "like the meaneſt Captive, and chain'd with Golden Chains. — I am ſure, Iron ones would have ſuited his dirty Cart much better. — However, he proceeds; "*Polyſtratus*, a *Macedonian*, as he was drinking at a Spring, firſt eſpied the Darts ſticking in the Bodies of the "Oxen, and his Curioſity drawing him to ſee the Reaſon, he found "a Man in the ſame Condition, whom, looking upon more narrowly, "he knew to be *Darius*." *Juſtin* agrees with *Curtius*. — If the Story of the dirty Cart, and raw Hides, pleaſes any of my Readers, he is welcome to it: As for my part, I look upon it to be little more than a Rhetorical Fiction; and am of Opinion, the ſame thing may be ſaid of Rhetoricians, as of Poets, — *Miranda canunt, ſed non credenda.*

[5] *Curtius* makes no mention of either of theſe, as *Darius*'s Murderers; he only ſays, it was committed by *Beſſus*, and his Aſſociates. However, both of them were afterwards taken, and put to Death, for being guilty of this Fact; and even *Beſſus* himſelf did not long eſcape.

[1] This *Darius*, according to *Diodorus*, *lib.* xvi. *p.* 490. was not of the Blood-Royal of the *Perſian* Monarchs, but a Plebeian. However, *Bagoas*,

deceſſors. After which, he conſtituted [2] *Ammynapes* the *Parthian*, (who, with *Mazaces*, had yielded *Ægypt* into his Hands) Governor of *Parthia*, and *Hyrcania*; and *Tlepolemus* the Son of *Pythophanes*, one of his Friends, was order'd to aſſiſt him in the Affairs of his Government. Thus died *Darius*, in the Month *Ecatombaion*, when *Ariſtophon* was Archon at *Athens*: A Prince unexpert, and imprudent, in Warlike Affairs; but as to other Matters, one who never attempted any Invaſion upon the Rights of his Subjects: neither, indeed, could he; for as ſoon as he aſcended the Throne, his Dominions were attack'd, by the joint Forces of the *Greeks*, and *Macedonians*: for which Reaſon, it would not have been ſafe for him, to have injured his own People, when he had ſo much need of their Aſſiſtance. As long as he lived, one Calamity immediately ſeiz'd him after another; neither enjoy'd he the leaſt Moment's Eaſe, from the Time that he aſcended the Throne. For his Reign was uſher'd in, with that diſmal Equeſtrian Defeat at the River *Granicus*; ſoon after which, enſued the Loſs of *Ionia*, and *Æolia*; both *Phrygia's*, *Lydia*, and all *Caria*, except *Halicarnaſſus*; and in a little time, that of *Halicarnaſſus* alſo, with all the Sea-coaſt, as far as *Cilicia*: Then followed the ſad Overthrow at *Iſſus*, where his Mother, Wife, and Children were taken Captives; ſoon after which, *Phœnicia*, and *Ægypt* were wreſted out of his Hands. Then ſucceeded

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Bagoas, an Eunuch, having poiſoned *Ochus*, placed his youngeſt Son *Arſes*, or *Arſames*, upon the Throne: *Arſes*, deteſting this villainous Act, deſigned to have puniſhed him; which *Bagoas* underſtanding, diſpatch'd him, and all his Race, and raiſed *Codomannus* to the Empire, who, thereupon, aſſumed the Name of *Darius*.

[2] *Curtius* calls him *Menapis*, *lib.* vi. *cap.* 4. 25. and adds, that he being baniſhed by *Ochus*, was entertained by *Philip*. However that was, he had obtained the Favour at Court afterward, ſo far, as to have Part of the Government of *Ægypt* conferr'd on him. He takes no notice of *Parthia* being join'd to his Government, nor of *Tlepolemus* his Aſſiſtant.

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the laſt, and fatal Battle of *Arbela*, where he was one of the firſt who fled, and where he loſt a vaſt Army, made up of all the Nations under his Power; ſoon after which, he was forced to abandon his own Kingdoms, and wander'd in Exile, where, being ſeiz'd by thoſe about him, he was, at the ſame time, a King, and a Captive, among his own People; when, after much ignominious Uſage received by thoſe who hurried him from Place to Place, he was, at laſt, barbarouſly betrayed, and murdered, by thoſe, in whom he moſt confided. Theſe Diſaſters purſued *Darius*, to the laſt Moment of his Life; but after his Death, he was honoured with a Royal Interrment, his Children received a Princely Allowance, and Education, from *Alexander*, as if their Father had ſtill reign'd; and *Alexander* himſelf took his Daughter to Wife. *Darius* was about Fifty Years of Age, when he died.

CHAP. XXIII.

ALEXANDER having gathered up thoſe, whom he was forced to leave behind, march'd into *Hyrcania*, which is ſituate on the Left Hand of the Way which leads to *Bactria*; which Road is bounded on one Side, by a Chain of Mountains, high, and inacceſſible; but on the other, is a ſpacious Plain, extending itſelf, even to the great Sea: and this Way he led his Army, the rather, becauſe he was informed, that the foreign mercenary Troops, which ſerved *Darius*, had retreated into the *Mardian* Mountains; wherefore, he was reſolved to bring the *Mardi* under Subjection. Having, therefore, divided his Forces into Three Parts, he himſelf took the ſhorteſt, and moſt difficult Roads, becauſe he led the beſt, and ſtouteſt Part of the Army. *Craterus*,

Craterus, with his own, and *Amyntas*'s Troops, and with the Archers, and ſome Horſe, he diſpatch'd againſt the *Tapuri*; but *Erigyius* was order'd to lead the foreign Troops, and the remainder of the Horſe, by a ſmoother, and eaſier Road, tho' ſomewhat longer; and to his Care was committed the Chariots, and Baggage-Waggons, and the reſt of the Multitude. Having, therefore, paſs'd over the firſt Mountains, and placed Guards there, he, with his Targeteers, and ſome of the ſwifteſt of the *Macedonian* Phalanx, beſides a few Archers, enter'd a Road extreamly rugged, and difficult, and having placed Guards, where-ever he apprehended Danger, leſt the *Barbarian* Mountaineers ſhould fall upon thoſe who were to follow, and cut them off; he, with his Archers, having paſs'd the Streights, encamp'd in a champaign Country, near a ſmall River. Hither, [1] *Nabarzanes*, a Captain of a Thouſand Horſe under *Darius*, and [2] *Phradaphernes*, Governor of *Hyrcania*, and *Parthia*, and others of the *Perſian* Nobility,

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[1] *Nabarzanes*, according to *Curtius*, ſent a Letter firſt, which he gives us, Word for Word, *lib.* vi. *cap.* 4. 8. but as moſt of his Letters, as well as his Speeches, are contrived by the Author himſelf, ſuch Forgeries are, in my humble Opinion, the Corruption of Hiſtory. He then proceeds to give us ſome Geographical Deſcription of the Situation of the Countries, thro' which *Alexander* paſs'd, and mentions the *Cerceta*, the *Moſyni*, and *Chalybes*, on his Left Hand, and the *Leucoſyri*, and the Fields of the *Amazons*, on his Right.—— This is a moſt excellent Geographer! Here are but five Countries mention'd, and the Situation of every one of them is falſely pointed out, as may be eaſily perceived, by conſulting *Ptolemey*, *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Dionyſ. Periag.* &c. He then goes to work to deſcribe the *Caſpian* Sea, and gives us the Opinions of ſeveral, concerning it, which are all, now, well known to be falſe. He had, juſt before, taken a vaſt deal of Pains to deſcribe a Couple of Rivers, one of which, no body mentions, beſides himſelf, and the other is little to his purpoſe, and might as well have been omitted.

[2] *Curtius* calls him *Phrataphernes*, *lib.* vi. *cap.* 4. 23. and *Autophradates* he names *Phradates*; and adds, that *Alexander* then arrived at *Arvas*. Where this was, is not known, no Geographer mentioning any ſuch Place, at leaſt thereabouts. *Ortelius* imagines, it may be the

Nobility, of great Eſteem with *Darius*, came, and ſurrender'd themſelves to *Alexander*. Wherefore, tarrying there four Days, Part of his Forces, which he had left by the Way, came up with him, and another Part paſs'd by him ſafe; but a Party of *Barbarian* Mountaineers attack'd the *Agrians*, who were left to conduct a Troop of new-rais'd Men; yet being repuls'd, by their Darts, they ſoon departed. *Alexander* moving from thence, march'd into *Hyrcania*, towards the City *Zadracarta*: and at this Time, came *Craterus*, with the Troops under his Command, who had not found the foreign mercenary Troops of *Darius*, which they ſought; but they had brought all the Country, thro' which they paſs'd, under Subjection, part thereof by Force, and part by a voluntary Surrender of the Inhabitants. *Erygyius* alſo, with the Chariots, and Baggage, arrived there; and not long after, [3] *Artabazus*, and three of his Sons, *Cophen*, *Ariobarzanes*, and *Arſames*, came to *Alexander*, attended by Em-

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the ſame with *Ptolemey's Armuſa*; but this is no more than a Conjecture, from ſome Affinity in their Names. However, *Arrian* aſſures us, that *Craterus*, and *Erigyius* met him, on his Way to *Zadracarta*.

[3] *Artabazus*, with *Memnon*, (whoſe Siſter he had married) had revolted from *Ochus*, and fled into *Macedonia* to *Philip*, in whoſe Court they continued, till, by the Mediation of *Mentor*, *Memnon's* Brother, they were pardon'd, and recall'd. *Alexander* could not be then above Seven Years of Age. *Curtius* tells us, "this *Artabazus* "preſented his Nine Sons to *Alexander*."— That he might eaſily do, if what *Diodorus* adds, *lib.* xvi. be true, (*viz.*) That he had Eleven Sons, and Nine Daughters, all by one Wife.—— However, he is contradicted here, by *Arrian*, who aſſures us, he had only Three of his Sons with him, and gives us their Names, (*viz.*) *Cophen*, *Ariobarzanes*, and *Arſames*; the ſecond of which, I am ſtrongly of Opinion, is the ſame who block'd up the *Perſian Streights* with a Wall, *chap.* xviii. and afterwards made his Eſcape thro' the Mountains. The Name is the very ſame, in the beſt Manuſcript of *Arrian* extant, as *Gronovius* aſſures us; and notwithſtanding *Curtius* cauſes him to be ſlain, with all his Followers, near *Perſepolis*, *lib.* v. *cap.* 4. 34. He has done it after a romantick Manner: And this is not the firſt of his ſlain Heroes, who has come to Life again.

baſſadors

baſſadors from the foreign Mercenaries which ſerved *Darius*, as alſo *Autophradates* Governor of the *Tapuri*. *Autophradates* he reſtored to his Government, and *Artabazus*, and his Sons, he held in high Eſteem, as well becauſe they were ſome of the chief *Perſian* Nobility, as for their great Fidelity to *Darius*: But when the [4] Embaſſadors from the *Grecian* mercenary Troops required, that he would receive all Foreigners into Friendſhip, he return'd Anſwer, that he would enter into no Articles with them, becauſe their Offence was heinous, in taking up Arms for the *Barbarians*, againſt their own Country, in direct Oppoſition to the general Decree of *Greece*. However, he commanded that they ſhould all either come and ſurrender themſelves, that he might diſpoſe of them according to his Pleaſure, or ſhift for themſelves, as well as they could, afterwards. They, hereupon, agreed not only to commit themſelves, but others, into his Power, if he would condeſcend to ſend them a Captain, to conduct them ſafe to him. Their whole Number was ſaid to be about One thouſand five hundred. *Alexander* hereupon diſpatch'd *Andronicus* the Son of *Aggerus*, and *Artabazus* thither, for that Purpoſe.

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[4] *Curtius* mentions no fewer than Ninety Embaſſadors, *lib.* vi. *cap.* 5. 10.— A good round Number! which we might rather take for the Remains of an Army, than an Embaſſy. However, *Arrian* ſets us right, by aſſuring us, there were Four from the *Lacedæmonians*, One from the *Athenians*, One from the *Carthaginians*, and ſome from the *Synopeans*, but what Number he mentions not: however, we cannot reaſonably ſuppoſe them above Three, or Four. So that this mighty Number of Ninety Embaſſadors, will, in all Probability, dwindle to Nine, or Ten; unleſs we have a mind to reckon their whole Retinue, Embaſſadors, and bring in their *Valet de Chambres*, and Shoe-blackers, to ſwell the Account.

CHAP. XXIV.

HE, then, directed his March againſt the *Mardi*, taking with him, his Targeteers, Archers, and *Agrians*, with *Cœnus*' and *Amyntas*'s Troops, and Half of the auxiliary Horſe, and Darters; for he had conſtituted a Troop of Darters, who ſhould fight on Horſeback. And he ſoon over-run a great Part of the Country of the *Mardi*, many of the Inhabitants flying; ſome, indeed, betook themſelves to Arms, and were ſlain, and many were taken Priſoners. [1] None, before *Alexander*, had ever attempted to enter that Country, in a hoſtile Manner, partly becauſe of the ſteep and rugged Hills, which muſt be paſs'd over, and partly becauſe of the Poverty of the Inhabitants; which Poverty, makes them warlike, at the ſame time when they are not worth the conquering: For which Reaſon, they never ſuſpecting *Alexander* would have attack'd them, (becauſe they had heard, that he was already march'd beyond them)* were over-run on a ſudden. However, many of them fled to the Mountains, which are there ſteep, and craggy, imagining, that he would never attempt to diſturb them there. But when they found their Miſtake, they ſent Meſſengers to him, and ſurrender'd themſelves and Country into his Hands. Having, then, diſmiſs'd

[1] We have an exceeding romantick Story given us of this, by *Curtius*, which my Readers may ſee, *lib.* vi. *cap.* 5. I have neither Room, nor Leiſure, to tranſcribe it, nor is it worth my while, to animadvert upon it. He tells us, *Alexander* loſt his Horſe *Bucephalus* there; but *Arrian* gives us the ſame Story, as happening among the *Uxii*. However, *Plutarch* inclines to the former Opinion.

them,

them, he appointed *Autophradates*, Governor of the *Tapuri*, to preſide over them; and returning into the Camp, from whence he ſet forth on his Expedition againſt the *Mardi*, he found the *Greek* Mercenaries, who were come to him; as alſo the *Lacedæmonian* Embaſſadors, who had been diſpatch'd to *Darius*: Theſe were, *Calliſtratidas*, *Pauſippus*, *Monimus*, *Anomantus*; and *Dropides* the Embaſſador of the *Athenians*; all which, having order'd to be ſeiz'd, he committed them to Cuſtody. The *Sinopean* Embaſſadors he ſet free, becauſe the *Sinopeans* were never a part of the Commonwealth of *Greece*, but were ſubject to the *Perſians*; for which Reaſon, he deem'd them guilty of no Crime, in ſending an Embaſſy to their King. As to the reſt of the *Greeks*, thoſe who had enter'd into the *Perſian* Service, before the League and Confederacy of their Countrymen with the *Macedonians*, he ſet free; and with them, *Heraclides* the *Carthaginian* Embaſſador. The reſt he order'd to take up Arms for him, on the ſame Conditions they had ſerved *Darius*. Over thoſe, he appointed *Andronicus*, who brought them, to preſide as Captain, whom he judg'd to have deſerved well, becauſe he had taken the beſt Means, for the Preſervation of their Lives.

CHAP. XXV.

AFTER [1] this, he haſted with his Army to *Zeudracarta*, the chief City of *Hyrcania*, where was the Royal Palace; and having tarried

[1] Hereabouts, *Curtius* places his *Amazonum Campi*, and here he gives us the Story of the *Amazonian* Queen coming to *Alexander*; which I ſhall take notice of, in my Obſervations upon *Arrian*, *lib.* vii. *cap.* 13.

there fifteen Days, ſacrificed to the Gods, after the Manner of his Country, and exhibited *Gymnick* Exerciſes, he begun his March againſt the *Parthians*. Then he paſs'd into the *Arian* Confines, to *Suſia*, a City of the *Arii*, where *Satibarzanes* Governor of *Aria*, came to meet him. He reſtored him his Government, and with him, ſent *Anaxippus*, one of his Friends, at the Head of a Party of Forty Archers, on Horſeback, whom he appointed to guard the Places, that the *Arii* might ſuſtain no Damage by his Army, in their March thro' their Country. About this Time, arrived certain [a] *Perſians*, with News, that *Beſſus* had aſſumed the *Recta Tiara*, or Turban, and the *Perſian* Veſt, Enſigns of Royalty, and laying aſide the Name of *Beſſus*, would be ſtiled *Artaxerxes*, King of *Aſia*; that he had with him the *Perſian* Troops, which had fled into *Bactria*, and great Numbers of the *Bactrians*, and daily expected the Arrival of ſome Confederate *Scythians*. *Alexander* having now all his Forces together, directed his March towards *Bactria*; for here *Philip* the Son of *Menelaus* came to him from *Media*, with the mercenary Troops of Horſe under his Command, and the *Theſſalians*, who, by his Order, tarried behind in the Camp, beſides the Recruits led on by *Andromachus*; for *Nicanor* the Son of *Parmenio*, Captain of the Tar-

[a] *Curtius* acquaints us, *lib.* vi. *cap.* 6. 13. that *Satibarzanes* Governor of the *Arii*, gave him this Intelligence. He has told us nothing of the Behaviour of *Alexander*'s Soldiers among the *Arii*, nor of *Anaxippus*; but, inſtead of that, has obliged us with a Story of *Alexander*'s ſetting fire to, and burning all their Baggage; by which means, that rich, and almoſt ineſtimable Furniture, which the *Perſians* had been ſo many Years, and perhaps Ages, in amaſſing together, and they had run ſo much Hazard in acquiring, was conſumed in a Moment. However, he aſſures us, it was deem'd abſolutely neceſſary, all ſhould go together; for Wealth incited them to Luxury, and Luxury enervated them, and made them neglect their martial Diſcipline.

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geteers, was now dead. As *Alexander* was upon his March into *Bactria*, he received Information, that *Satibarzanes* Governor of the *Arii*, having ſlain *Anaxippus*, and the Archers, his Attendants; had arm'd the Country, and ordered them to meet at the City *Artacoana*, where is the Royal Palace of the *Arian* Princes. He had alſo reſolved, as ſoon as he received News that *Alexander* was march'd a little further off, to lead his Army to *Beſſus*, that ſo, by their joint Force, they might be able to match the *Macedonians*, where-ever they met them. When *Alexander* heard this, he poſtpon'd his Journey into *Bactria*, and taking with him his auxiliary Horſe, his Darters on Horſeback, his Archers, and *Agrians*, as alſo *Cœnus*'s and *Amyntas*'s Troops, leaving the reſt of the Army there, under *Craterus*, he march'd ſuddenly againſt *Satibarzanes*, and the *Arii*, and having travell'd Six hundred Furlongs in two Days, came to [3] *Artacoana*. *Satibarzanes* no ſooner perceived his Approach, than he was ſtruck with Aſtoniſhment, at the Expedition he had made; wherefore, with a [4] few of the *Arian* Horſe, he

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[3] I ſhall here preſent my Readers with a Specimen of the Difference, which we ſometimes meet with, in antient Authors, about the Name of one Town. *Arrian*, here, calls this City *Artacoana*; and ſome Manuſcripts, *Artacoan*; but the beſt, according to *Gronovius*, *Arctoana*; *Curtius*, *Artacacna*, and ſome Editions, *Arctacrana*; *Diodorus*, *Chortacana*; *Strabo*, *Arctacana*; and *Ptolemey*, *Articaudna*.

[4] *Curtius*, *lib.* vi. *cap.* 25. calls theſe few, no fewer than Two thouſand, and tells us a Story "of Thirteen thouſand *Arii*, who had "ſeiz'd a Rock, and ſecured themſelves upon it, and were reſolved "to defend themſelves. Whereupon, *Alexander* left *Craterus* to "beſiege them, and haſted after *Satibarzanes*; but *Satibarzanes* be-"ing gone out of his Reach, he return'd to the Siege of this Rock, "to *Craterus*."— Well, in ſhort, they piled vaſt Heaps of Wood, as high as the Rock, which they ſet Fire to; whereupon the *Barbarians*, finding the Place too hot for them, ſome of them caſt themſelves down the Rock, ſome, half burnt, were taken Captives, and others were burnt to Death.— *Curtius* then goes on, *cap.* 6. 33. "From hence, (that is, from the Siege of this Rock) he (*Alexander*)

he made his Eſcape; many of his Soldiers, when they were aſſured that the Enemy was at hand, deſerting from him in his Flight. *Alexander* ſeiz'd as many as he knew were guilty of the Revolt, and thoſe who had forſaken their Habitations, and uſed them with Rigour, putting ſome to Death, and ſending others into Slavery: And having then appointed [5] *Arſaces* the *Perſian*, Governor of the *Arii*, he, with thoſe Forces which he had before left with *Craterus*, marching againſt the *Zarangæi*, came to the Imperial City; but [6] *Barſaentes*, one of thoſe who murder'd *Darius* in his Flight, and was then Prince of that Country, hearing of his Approach, fled to the *Indians*, on the other Side the River *Indus*: but they having ſeiz'd him, ſent him to *Alexander*, who, for his Treachery to *Darius*, commanded him to be put to Death.

" *der*) returned to *Craterus*, who beſieged *Artacacna*, and only " waited for the King's coming, that he might have the Honour " of taking it."—— This is very ſtrange! Either *Craterus* was with *Alexander* all the while, till the Rock was delivered up, and the Story of his having almoſt taken *Artacacna*, is falſe; or, if *Alexander* diſpatch'd him, with any Party of Men, to beſiege *Artacacna*, before the ſaid Rock was ſurrender'd, he has been guilty of an unpardonable Omiſſion. Half Stories are generally unintelligible, and had better be left out.

[5] This *Arſaces* is a Corruption, for it ought to be *Arſames*. He was one of the Sons of *Artabazus*.

[6] I fancy, this *Barzaentes* is the ſame whom *Arrian* mentions, *chap.* xxi. by the Name of *Brazas*, Prefect of the *Arachoti*, and *Drangæ*. Whether the *Drangæ* and *Zarangæ* be the ſame People, I am not able to give an Account. *Arrian*, and *Pliny*, make them different. However, if they be different, they cannot be far diſtant, and the Stories in *Arrian*, concerning the *Zarangi*, *Curtius*, *Diodorus*, and *Strabo* give us of the *Drangi*: and that an Z might be miſtaken for a *Greek* Δ, is a Matter which will be allowed, without much Difficulty.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

AT this Time, *Alexander* was aſſured, that [1] *Philotas* the Son of *Parmenio* had conſpired againſt his Life. *Ptolomey*, and *Ariſtobulus* acquaint us, that when the Treaſon was firſt divulged to him in *Ægypt*, he rejected the Information, as deeming it highly improbable, not only becauſe of the antient Friendſhip, and Honour he had for his Father *Parmenio*, but alſo becauſe of the extraordinary Confidence he had repoſed in him. But *Ptolomey* elſewhere tells us, that *Philotas* being brought before a Council of the *Macedonians*, and grievouſly accuſed by *Alexander*, was then acquitted; but afterwards, freſh Circumſtances appearing, and a new Charge being drawn up againſt him, and his Accomplices, among other things, one, in particular, was, that he had confeſs'd his having Knowledge of a certain Conſpiracy againſt his Sovereign's Life, which he never divulged, notwithſtanding he had all the Opportunity he could wiſh, to make a Diſcovery, having free Acceſs into the

[1] *Curtius* has ſpent no leſs than five long Chapters, upon this ſingle Circumſtance, of *Philotas*'s Accuſation, and Defence. He has given us the ſeveral Queſtions, and Anſwers; Replies, and Rejoinders, with ſo much Nicety, and deſcribed every minute Particular, relating thereto, ſo accurately, that one would almoſt ſwear, he had been fee'd for Council, on one Side or the other, himſelf; tho', after all, I much doubt, whether the greateſt part of what he has advanced, upon that Head, be not Fiction, as well as moſt of his Speeches and Letters are. But as his Work is in every body's Hands, I ſhall not trouble my Readers with Remarks upon it, but refer them to the Story itſelf, *lib.* vi. *cap.* 7, 8, 9, 10, 11.

Royal Tent twice every Day. Upon this, [2] *Philotas*, and all the reſt of the Conſpirators, were ſlain by Darts from the *Macedonians* which ſurrounded them. *Polydamas*, one of *Alexander*'s Friends, was immediately diſpatch'd away to *Parmenio*, with Letters from him, to the Captains of the Army in *Media*, who, at that time, were *Cleander*, *Sitalces*, and *Menides*, who commanded there, under *Parmenio*; and by them, [3] *Parmenio* was put to Death; either becauſe *Alexander* deem'd it unlikely, that *Philotas* ſhould form ſo deep a Conſpiracy againſt his Life, and his Father be ignorant thereof, or rather, tho' perhaps he might think him innocent, he might at the ſame time think it dangerous, having ſlain the Son, to ſuffer his Father to ſurvive, eſpecially ſince his Power was ſo vaſt, both with *Alexander*, and the Army, as well *Macedonians* as Foreigners; over a great Part of whom, by his Sovereign's Command, he had often preſided, both in his Courſe, and otherwiſe, and acquitted himſelf with the higheſt Applauſe.

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[2] They were ſtoned to Death, as *Curtius* informs us, according to the Cuſtom of the *Macedonians*, *lib.* vi. *cap.* 11 38.

[3] The Circumſtances of *Parmenio*'s Death, *Curtius* has given us, whether true or falſe. However, he ſays, *lib.* vii. *cap.* 2. 27. that "*Cleander* firſt ſtabb'd him in the Side, and then in the Throat; and "afterwards, the reſt, (namely, *Sitalces*, and *Menidas*, I ſuppoſe) "ſhamefully mangled the dead Body: Then *Cleander* cut off the "Head, and ſent it to *Alexander*; and the Body was buried by the "Soldiers."

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVII.

THE ſame Authors add, that [1] *Amyntas* the Son of *Andromenes*, was accuſed before the Council, and with him, *Polemon*, *Attalus*, and *Symmias*, his Brothers, as privy to the Conſpiracy againſt *Alexander*, by reaſon of their extraordinary Intimacy with *Philotas*: and the Suſpicion of their Guilt was much ſtrengthen'd among the common People, becauſe, when *Philotas* was apprehended, *Polemon*, one of thoſe Brothers, fled to the Enemy. But when *Amyntas*, who, with his two Brothers which ſtood their Ground, had taken their Tryal, he pleaded his Cauſe ſo well, that they were all acquitted; immediately after which, before the Council roſe, he begg'd leave to go, and bring his Brother back to *Alexander*; which being granted, he went, and the ſame Day return'd with his Brother: And from this Circumſtance, his Innocence appear'd much plainer than before. However, as he was

[1] The Story of theſe Brothers, is ſpun out to an exceſſive Length by *Curtius*, and ſhould be paſs'd over, without any Remark, did he not, in ſome Particulars, diſſent from *Arrian*; for he firſt takes up four whole Pages, in a ſet Speech, which he puts into the Mouth of *Amyntas*, and even then breaks it off abruptly, by telling us, *lib.* vii. *cap.* 2. 1. that "while *Amyntas* was thus defending himſelf, thoſe "who purſued *Polemon*, brought him in bound." He then makes a ſort of a Speech, or *Curtius* for him; after which, he tells us, *lib.* vii. *cap.* 2. 4. that "the Reaſon of his flying away, was, be-"cauſe he, with many others, were terrified at the unuſual Tortures "of *Philotas*: With them he fled a little way, till, being at a Stand, "whether to come back or no, and having loſt his Company, he was "ſeiz'd by thoſe, who purſued him."—— A School-boy would have made a better Excuſe by half, for playing the Truant. *Curtius* takes no notice at all of *Attalus*, another of the Brothers, accuſed with the reſt.

aſſaulting a ſmall Village, not long after, he was ſtruck with an [2] Arrow, and died of the Wound. So that he received little Advantage from his Abſolution by the Council, except that of carrying the Character of a loyal Subject, to his Grave. After this, *Alexander* gave the Command of the auxiliary Horſe to two of his Friends, namely, to *Hephæſtion* the Son of *Amyntor*, and *Clitus* the Son of *Dropidas*. And he thus divided theſe Troops, becauſe he would not truſt any One of his Friends with the ſole Command of them, they being the beſt in his whole Army, both for Honour, and Martial Proweſs. He then turn'd his Eyes upon thoſe, who were antiently call'd *Agriaſpæ*, but afterwards, *Euergetæ*, or *Bountiful*, who had aſſiſted *Cyrus* the Son of *Cambyſes*, in his Expedition againſt the *Scythians*. Thoſe, *Alexander* highly eſteem'd, becauſe their Predeceſſors had behaved themſelves well; and when he heard, that they lived not after the Manner of the *Barbarians*, their Neighbours, but adminiſter'd Juſtice, like the beſt order'd States of *Greece*, he declared them free, and gave them as much Land, out of the neighbouring Country, as they requeſted, becauſe their Requeſts were moderate. In that Place, he ſacrificed to *Apollo*; and then, having ſeiz'd upon [3] *Demetrius*, one of his Body-Guards, whom he ſuſpected to be one of the Accomplices

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[2] We have no Account of his Death, in *Curtius*; nor of the Diviſion of the Command of the auxiliary Horſe, between *Clitus* and *Hephæſtion*.

[3] This Story of *Demetrius*, is placed, by *Curtius*, among the reſt, *lib.* vi. *cap.* 11. 36. and he makes *Philotas*, after he had been ſtretch'd upon the Rack, to caſt his Eyes around, and eſpying one *Calas*, deſired him to come nigh, and then cried out to him, How canſt thou endure to hear *Demetrius* lye thus, and have me rack'd again? — Poor *Philotas!* I cannot forbear pitying him myſelf: Tho', by the bye, this Speech of his, ſeems a little unlikely, as well as unſeaſonable; *Demetrius* not being ſeiz'd, till ſome Days after *Philotas* was dead.

of

of *Philotas*, he ſubſtituted *Ptolomey* the Son of *Lagus* in his Place.

CHAP. XXVIII.

ALEXANDER, after this, directed his March againſt *Bactria*, and *Beſſus*; and, in his Way, having received Homage of the *Drangæ*, the *Gadroſi*, and *Arachoti*, he appointed *Menon* their Governor. He then proceeded to the *Indians*, adjacent to the *Arachoti*; all which Nations he ſubdued, but with the utmoſt Toil and Difficulty, his Soldiers paſſing thro' [1] deep Snows, and enduring all the Extremities of Want: But when he had notice, that the *Arii* had again revolted, and that *Satibarzanes*, with Two thouſand Horſe which he had received from *Beſſus*, had enter'd the Country, he diſpatch'd *Artabazus* the *Perſian*, with *Erigyius*, and *Caranus*, againſt them, and order'd *Phrataphernes* Governor of the *Parthians*, to accompany them. A ſharp Battle then happen'd, between the Troops of *Erigyius*, and *Caranus*, and thoſe of *Satibarzanes*; and the *Barbarians* ſtood their Ground, till *Satibar-*

[1] In this Country, *Curtius* tells us, *lib.* vii. *cap.* 3. 13. "the Army "ſuffer'd all the Extremities imaginable: Some were quite kill'd "with Cold; the Feet of ſome were numb'd; the Eyes of others "hurt; ſome, deſiring to reſt their wearied Limbs, and lying upon "the Snow, as ſoon as their Motion ceaſed, their natural Heat ceaſed "too.—He had aſſured us, juſt before, that they were then near the North Pole, and now adds, "That the Air was ſo thick and foggy, "and the Light ſo dim, that they could ſcarce diſcern any Thing, "tho' it was ever ſo nigh."—What Reader, by ſuch a Deſcription, would not imagine them to have been under the North Pole indeed? I can aſſure mine, they were very far from it, being then in a Country which lies between the 34th and 40th Degree of Latitude, and, of Conſequence, it could not be much colder than *Greece*, or *Italy*.

Zanes,

Zanes, encountering *Erigyius*, was [2] ſtruck in the Face with a Dart, and died of the Wound; but then, terrified at the Death of their General, they betook themſelves to Flight. *Alexander* then marching to Mount *Caucaſus*, built a City there, which he named *Alexandria*; and having offered Sacrifices to the Gods, after the Cuſtom of his Country, paſs'd over the Mountains. He left the Government of this Land in the Hands of [3] *Proexes* the *Perſian*, and appointed his Friend *Niloxenus* the Son of *Satyrus* to remain there, with his Army. Mount [4] *Caucaſus*, according to *Ariſtobulus*'s Account, riſes to as great a Height as any Mountain in all *Aſia*, and the Surface thereof, in that Part where *Alexander* view'd it, was bare: It alſo ſtretches out to ſuch a mighty Length, that ſome reckon Mount *Taurus*, which croſſes *Cilicia*, and *Pamphylia*, to be a Branch thereof; as alſo many other high Mountains, which vary their Names, according to the variety of Nations, inhabiting near them. Nothing but *Sylphium*, and the Turpentine-Tree, grow there, according to the ſame Author; notwithſtanding which, it is very populous, and Multitudes of Sheep and Neat Cattle are ſeen there; for they feed upon *Sylphium*, and the Sheep eſpecially are ſo fond thereof, that if they chance to ſmell it at a Diſtance,

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[2] *Curtius*, *lib.* vii. *cap.* 4. 33, *&c.* makes *Erigyius* and *Satibarzanes* challenge each other, in as formal, and almoſt as formidable a Manner, as any two of our modern Bear-garden Gladiators; after which, "*Satibarzanes*, he tells us, threw the firſt Dart, which *Erigyius* "avoided, by ſtooping forward, and clapping Spurs to his Horſe, he "run his Spear ſo far into his Adverſary's Throat, that it came out "behind. This bore him off his Horſe; yet ſtill he ſtruggled; but "*Erigyius*, drawing the Weapon out of his Throat, ſtruck it into his "Mouth: The Barbarian himſelf helped the Thruſt, and died im-"mediately."

[3] *Proexes* and *Niloxenus* are not mentioned by *Curtius*.

[4] This was call'd Mount *Caucaſus* by *Alexander*'s Soldiers, tho' the Inhabitants call'd it *Parapamiſus*.

they

they immediately haſte thither, and having cropt the Flower, even dig up, and gnaw the Root; for which reaſon, ſome of the *Cyreneans*, keep their Sheep at a Diſtance from the Places where the *Sylphium* grows, and others incloſe it with a Fence, leſt their Sheep ſhould ſmell it, if too nigh, or break in and devour it; for it is, there, very valuable. *Beſſus*, with thoſe who were his Accomplices in the Treachery againſt *Darius*, beſides [5] Seven thouſand *Bactrians*, and *Daæ*, who inhabited the Country beyond the *Tanais*, had laid all the Country about *Caucaſus* waſte, to the Intent, that the Deſolation thereof, and the Want of all Neceſſaries, might put a Stop to *Alexander*'s Progreſs. But he, nevertheleſs, march'd forwards, tho' with extream Difficulty, by reaſon of the Depth of the Snow, and Scarcity of Proviſions. As ſoon as *Beſſus* underſtood, that *Alexander* was not far off, he paſs'd the River *Oxus*, with his Forces, and having immediately burnt the Veſſels, which they had uſed in ferrying over, retired to *Nautaca*, a City of *Sogdia*. He was attended thither, by *Spitamenes*, and *Oxyartes*, with the *Sogdian* Horſe, and *Daæ*, from the River *Tanais*; but the *Bactrian* Horſe, perceiving that he had no Hopes of Safety remaining, but what he placed in a precipitate Flight, fell away from him, by degrees, and return'd to their own Country.

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[5] *Curtius* calls them Eight thouſand.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIX.

ALEXANDER then haſted to *Drapſaca*, where having refreſhed his Army, he moved thence, againſt *Aornus*, and *Bactra*, the chief Cities of the *Bactrians*; which being immediately ſurrender'd to him, he placed a Garriſon in the Caſtle of *Aornus*, and making *Archelaus* the Son of *Androcles*, one of his Friends, Governor thereof, and all the reſt of the Country being eaſily reduced, [1] *Artabazus* the *Perſian* was appointed their Preſident. He then led his Army to the River *Oxus*. This River has its Riſe from Mount *Caucaſus*, and is the greateſt in all *Aſia*, which *Alexander* paſs'd over with his Army, except thoſe of *India*: It diſcharges its Waters into the great Sea, nigh *Hyrcania*. [2] When *Alexander* came to this River, he found no Poſſibility of paſſing over it; for its Breadth was full ſix Furlongs; its Depth proportionable to a greater Breadth, and the Bottom

[1] *Curtius*, *lib.* vii. *cap.* 5. 1. mentions *Artabazus*, as promoted to the Government of *Bactria*, but takes no notice of *Archelaus* the Son of *Androcles*, who was made Governor of the Caſtle of *Aornus*. He tells us, *lib.* vi. *cap.* 5. 4. that *Artabazus* was Ninety-five Years old, when he came to *Alexander* in *Hyrcania*, and brought his Nine Sons along with him.—— If ſo, I ſhould imagine, ſome or other of them much fitter to keep the Country in Subjection than he, who was juſt ſtepping into his Grave.

[2] The Riſe and Courſe of other Rivers, which were nothing to his purpoſe, *Curtius* has taken ſo much Pains to deſcribe, that he has entirely omitted the Deſcription of this, perhaps becauſe it was. *Arrian*'s Account of it here, is very fine; and what makes it material, is, becauſe *Alexander* found ſo much Difficulty in paſſing over it. *Curtius*, indeed, mentions his paſſing his Army over, on Skins ſtuff'd with Straw, *lib.* vii. *cap.* 5. 18. but is entirely ſilent, as to the Breadth, Depth, or Rapidity of the Current.

ſandy:

ſandy: Its Stream was ſo rapid, as ſuddenly to root out, and ſweep away, whatever Piles were driven down into the Bottom, which could not be firmly fixed, by reaſon of the looſeneſs of the Sand. Add to this, that he had no Materials ready for the building a Bridge; and it would have taken up too much of his Time, to have convey'd every thing neceſſary for that purpoſe thither, from Parts ſo far diſtant. Having, therefore, order'd all the Skins, which they uſed for their Tents, to be gathered together, he commanded them to be filled with any light and dry Matter they could find, and carefully bound up, and ſtitch'd, to prevent the Water from entering; upon which Skins, ſo ſtuff'd out, and ſew'd up, in the Space of five Days, he convey'd his whole Army ſafe over. But before he attempted to paſs this River, he ſought out ſuch of the [3] *Macedonians*, as were render'd unfit for Service, either by Age or Wounds, and ſuch of the *Theſſalians* as had choſen to remain in their Tents, and ſent them back into their own Country. He then diſpatch'd *Staſanor*, one of his Friends, into the Territories of the *Arii*, to ſeize [4] *Arſames* the Governor there, (who was endeavouring to ſtir up his People to a Revolt) and take the Care of that Province upon himſelf. Having, therefore, paſs'd over the River *Oxus*, he march'd, with his Forces,

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[3] *Curtius, lib.* vii. *cap.* 5. 27. tells us, they were in Number about Nine hundred; and ſays, "*Alexander* commanded them to return "home, and get Children, who might do him as good Service, as "they had done." This, he ſays, happen'd after they had paſs'd the *Oxus*.

[4] That this *Arſames* is the ſame whom *Arrian* mentions *chap.* 25. is indiſputable; the former Name being only an Error of a κ inſtead of a μ. But who he was, is not ſo eaſy to learn. It could not be the ſame whom *Darius* made Governor of *Cilicia*, and who fled from *Tarſus*; for he was ſlain at the Battle of *Iſſus*. I am therefore of Opinion, it was one of the Sons of *Artabazus*, mentioned *chap.* 23.

towards

towards the Place, where he heard that *Beſſus*, and his Army, lay encamp'd: but in the mean time, arrived Meſſengers from *Spitamenes*, and *Dataphernes*, who aſſured him, that if he would ſend any of his Captains thither, with a ſmall Party, they would deliver [5] *Beſſus* Priſoner into his Hands; for they had already apprehended him, tho' they had not yet bound him with Fetters. When *Alexander* underſtood this, he ſlacken'd his Pace, and moved eaſily forwards, with his Army, but order'd [6] *Ptolemey* the Son of *Lagus*, with three Troops of the auxiliary Horſe, and all his Archers on Horſeback, as alſo *Philotas*'s Regiment of Foot, beſides a Thouſand Targeteers, all his *Agrians*, and half of his Archers, to make the beſt of his Way to *Spitamenes*, and *Dataphernes*. *Ptolemey* having accordingly march'd Ten ordinary Days Journey, in Four Days ſpace, arrived at the Place where *Spitamenes* and the *Barbarians* had encamp'd the Night before.

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[5] The Manner of their apprehending *Beſſus*, is well worth the Obſervation, in *Curtius*, it being full as romantick, as any of the reſt of his Stratagems. See it, *Curt. lib.* vii. *cap.* 5. I have not room to tranſcribe it.

[6] This Circumſtance, of *Alexander*'s ſending *Ptolemey*, with the Forces under his Command, to receive *Beſſus*, is omitted by *Curtius*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXX.

THERE, *Ptolemey* was aſſured, that *Spitamenes* and *Dataphernes* were not fully reſolved, in their own Minds, about the Delivery of *Beſſus*. Wherefore, leaving his Foot behind, and commanding them to follow in Order, he haſted forward with his Horſe, till he came to a certain [1] Village, where *Beſſus* was, with a few of his Soldiers: For thoſe with *Spitamenes* had quitted the Place, becauſe they would not ſeem to be guilty of betraying him. *Ptolemey* having ſurrounded the Village with his Horſe, (for it was wall'd round) order'd Proclamation to be made, That the Inhabitants ſhould not receive any Harm, if they would deliver up *Beſſus*. The *Barbarians* hearing this, open'd their Gates, and *Ptolemey*, with his Forces, enter'd the Village, where, having ſeiz'd *Beſſus*, he return'd to *Alexander*; but firſt of all, diſpatch'd a Meſſenger to inquire, after what Manner *Beſſus* ſhould be brought into his Preſence: Who return'd Anſwer, That he ſhould be brought chained, and naked, and afterwards placed on the Right Hand Side of the Way, along which he was to paſs, with his Army. When *Alexander* ſaw him, he cauſed his Chariot to ſtop, and ask'd him, What induced him to ſeize upon *Darius*, his Sovereign, and his Friend, and who had always deſerved well at his Hands, and after having ſeiz'd, and led him about Priſoner, to

[1] *Curtius, lib.* vii. *cap.* 5. 37. makes *Spitamenes* deliver *Beſſus* up himſelf, on purpoſe to have the Opportunity of putting a fine Speech into his Mouth; but he is contradicted by *Arrian*.

murder

murder him? To whom *Beſſus* reply'd, That it was not his Act, nor done by his Advice alone, but it was the general Opinion of all then preſent, that it would procure them the Favour of *Alexander*. He then order'd *Beſſus* to be whipt, and the upbraiding Speech he had firſt made to him, to be proclaim'd aloud, by a Crier. *Beſſus*, thus puniſhed, was ſent into *Bactria*, there to be put to [2] Death. Thus far *Ptolemey*. But *Ariſtobulus*'s Account of this Affair, is, that *Spitamenes*' and *Dataphernes*'s Soldiers delivered *Beſſus* into *Ptolemey*'s Hands, and that he was then brought chained, and naked, to *Alexander*. *Alexander* having received the Horſes he there expected, to remount his Cavalry, (for he had loſt many Horſes, in his Paſſage over Mount *Caucaſus*, as well as in his March towards the River *Oxus*, and his Departure from thence) march'd ſtreight to [3] *Maracanda*, in which City ſtands the Royal Palace of the *Sogdians*, and afterwards, to the River *Tanais*. This River (which, *Ariſtobulus* ſays, has the Name of [4] *Orxantes*, among the neighbouring Inhabitants) owes its Riſe to Mount *Caucaſus*, and diſcharges its Waters into the *Hyrcanian Sea*. There is another *Tanais*, whereof *Herodotus* the Hiſtorian makes mention, as the Eighth River of *Scythia*, and adds, that it has its Origine from a great Lake, and loſes itſelf at laſt, in one much greater, namely, the Lake of *Mæotis*; that ſome

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[2] The Manner of *Beſſus*'s Death, is related *lib.* iv. *cap.* 7. where the various Opinions of Authors concerning it, ſhall be ſhew'd.

[3] *Curtius* makes *Alexander* paſs the *Tanais* firſt, *lib.* vii. *cap.* 5. 36. and afterwards arrive at *Maracanda*, *cap.* 6. 10. but erroneouſly; for *Maracanda* lies on this Side that River.

[4] This River *Orxantes*, or *Jaxyrtus*, or *Sylis*, according to *Pliny*, is the Boundary between the *Sogdians*, and the *Aſiatic Scythians*. *Strabo*, and *Arrian*, aſſure us, it was call'd *Tanais* by the *Macedonian* Soldiers: they miſtook the *Caſpian Sea*, for the *Pontick Sea*; and *Curtius* confounds it with the other *Tanais*, which ſeparates *Aſia* from *Europe*.

place

place this *Tanais*, as the Boundary of *Europe* and *Aſia*; for this River falling into the *Palus Mæotis*, and that, afterwards into the *Euxine Sea*, parts *Europe* and *Aſia*, in the ſame manner as the Sea between *Gades*, and the oppoſite Shore of *Numidia*, disjoins *Europe* from *Africa*; or as the River *Nilus* ſeparates *Africa* from another Part of *Aſia*. Here, (namely, at this River *Tanais*) ſome of the *Macedonian* Horſe, foraging at a great Diſtance, were ſurprized, and ſlain, by the *Barbarians*, who were gathered together, to the Number of about [5] Thirty thouſand, and who, after this Exploit, betook them to a high Mountain, ſteep and rugged, and every way difficult to aſcend. Againſt theſe, *Alexander*, with the ſwifteſt, and lighteſt arm'd Troops of his whole Army, ſuddenly directed his March. The *Mace-*

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[5] Their Number, according to *Curtius*, *lib.* vii. *cap.* 6. 1. was but Twenty thouſand; tho' he tells the Story different: "They were, "ſays he, a Party of Robbers, and their Way of fighting was with "Slings and Arrows. *Alexander* beſieged them, and venturing him-"ſelf in the foremoſt Ranks, was wounded by an Arrow, in the Leg, "and carried back to his Tent, by the ſorrowful and dejected *Ma-*"*cedonians*. However, the *Barbarians*, who diſcern'd the Paſſages "of the Fight, from an Eminence, ſending Embaſſadors the next "Day, they were introduced into his Preſence, and he ſhewing them "his Leg, they expreſs'd an exceeding Concern at it, and, to con-"vince him of their Sincerity for his Safety, proteſted, that if the "Wretch, who ſhot the Arrow, could be found out, he ſhould be "immediately delivered up."—— A very likely Story! I warrant, they had all try'd, and would have been glad if they could have kill'd him, the Day before; but it was not Time, now, to tell him ſo.—— However, he proceeds; "For it belonged only to the Sacrilegious, "to fight with the Gods."—— Who would imagine, that a parcel of Robbers, could have ſuch Qualms of Conſcience!—— "Therefore, "they came and ſubmitted themſelves, and their Country, to his "Protection."—— That is, becauſe they look'd upon him as a God, they ſubmitted themſelves, *&c.* Had he been a Devil, he had been much fitter for them, whoſe whole Lives were ſpent in Murder, Rapine, and Injuſtice.—— However, he goes on; "Having taken "Hoſtages, he received them into Favour."— If this Story be true, it is a very ſtrange one; and whether it be true or falſe, it is a very ridiculous one.

donians, in ſeveral of their firſt Attempts to diſlodge the Mountaineers, were beat back by the *Barbarians*, and many of them wounded; even *Alexander* himſelf, was ſhot thro' the Leg, with an Arrow, whereby the *Fibula*, or leſſer Bone thereof, was broke. However, at laſt, the Mountain was gain'd, and many of the *Barbarians* ſlain, by the *Macedonians*; many others alſo threw themſelves headlong from the Rocks, and periſhed: So that, of Thirty thouſand, who endeavoured to maintain that Poſt, ſcarce Eight thouſand made their Eſcape.

ARRIAN's HISTORY OF ALEXANDER's Expedition.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.

A FEW Days after, came Embaſſadors to *Alexander*, from the *Scythians*, named *Abii*, (whom *Homer*, in his Work, commends, as the juſteſt Nation upon Earth: Theſe are Inhabitants of *Aſia*, ſubject to no Laws, by reaſon of their Poverty, and their exact Diſtribution of Juſtice) and with them, came alſo Embaſſadors from the *European Scythians*; for a great Nation of the *Scythians* inhabits *Europe*. *Alexander* ſent ſome of his Friends, to attend thoſe, on their Return home, under a Pretext indeed, of ſettling a Friendſhip with them, by an Embaſſy, but, in reality, that he might know the Situation of their Country, the Number of their Inhabitants, the Stature of their Bodies, and what kind

of Arms they uſe in Battle. In the mean time, he reſolved to build a City near the Banks of the River [1] *Tanais*, and have it call'd after his own Name; for the Place ſeem'd extreamly commodious for that purpoſe, and a fit Situation (whenever Occaſion ſhould offer) for an Expedition againſt the *Scythians*; and not only ſo, but it would alſo ſerve as a Fortreſs, to ſecure the Country on this Side the River, from the Incurſions of thoſe on the other. He alſo conjectured, that this City would become great, as well by reaſon of the Numbers of its future Inhabitants, as by its being dignified with ſuch a Name. In the mean time, the *Barbarians* inhabiting the Country near the River, having ſeiz'd the *Macedonian* Soldiers, who had been appointed to guard the Cities of *Scythia*, put them to Death; and, for their greater Security, fortified their Cities. Many of the *Sogdians* join'd with them in this Revolt, being ſtirr'd up to it by thoſe who had taken [2] *Beſſus*; ſome of the *Bactrians* alſo ſided with them, either

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[1] *Curtius* perpetually miſtakes this *Orxantes*, or *Indian Tanais*, which falls into the *Caſpian Sea*, for the other *Tanais*, which diſcharges its Waters into the *Palus Mæotis*; and as an Inſtance of his amazing Skill in Geography, he aſſures us, *lib.* vii. *cap.* 7. 2. that "the ſame River *Tanais*, which ſeparates *Europe* from *Aſia*, divides "*Bactria* from *Scythia Europæa*, which Country reaches nigh *Thrace*, "to the North Eaſtward, and does not only border upon, but, as ſome "think, is a Part of *Sarmatia*: Right forward, it joins with the "*Alauni*, beyond the River *Iſter*, *&c.*" —— Here, the whole Country between theſe two Rivers is entirely ſet aſide, and loſt, and there is ſuch a crowding, and joſtling, and thruſting, and elbowing Places out of the Situation which Nature gave them, as you will ſcarce meet with, in any other Author. 'Tis a pity but thoſe wiſe Geographers, who remove Towns, Countries, Rivers, and Mountains out of their antient Stations, ſhould be obliged to bring them back, at their own Coſt and Charges.

[2] Thoſe who cauſed *Beſſus* to be deliver'd up to *Alexander*, were *Spitamenes*, and *Dataphernes*. *Curtius*, *lib.* vii. *cap.* 5. tells us a long Story of *Spitamenes*, and gives us two or three fine Speeches of his, to *Alexander*, with their Anſwers, as if *Spitamenes* had brought *Beſſus*, and ſurrender'd him himſelf. However, *Arrian* aſſures us, that

either becauſe they were afraid of *Alexander*, or, as the Report then went, becauſe *Alexander* had fix'd the Meeting of the Preſidents of that Province to be held at *Zariaſpa*, from which Convention they predicted no Good to themſelves.

CHAP. II.

WHEN theſe Things were told to *Alexander*, he order'd all his Foot, according to their ſeveral Cohorts, to furniſh themſelves with Ladders; and he march'd, with his Forces, to the City which lay higheſt the Army, call'd [1] *Gaza*; (for the *Barbarians* of that Country were reported to have ſeiz'd upon Seven Cities) he diſpatch'd *Craterus* to *Cyropolis*, the greateſt of theſe Cities, and into which, moſt of the *Barbarians* had retired, commanding him to encamp nigh the Walls, to draw a Ditch and Rampart round the City, and plant his Engines, where ever he thought convenient; ſo that the Citizens there, finding Employment enough, to defend themſelves at home, might not be able to ſuccour other Places elſewhere. As ſoon as he approach'd *Gaza*, he order'd the Wall, which was but of Mud, and low built, to be aſſaulted, and

that *Spitamenes* and *Dataphernes* only left him, in a Village, to be taken, and then march'd forwards, into the more remote Parts of *Sogdia*.

[1] The Siege of this City is not taken notice of by *Curtius*, nor the Name thereof ſo much as mentioned; only one ſlight Hint is given, *lib.* vii. *cap.* 6. 16. that "while *Craterus* lay before *Cyropolis*, *Alexander* took another City by Storm, wherein he put all the Youth "to the Sword, and made the reſt Priſoners of War; which done, "he quite demoliſhed it, to deter others from revolting." —— This is, probably, meant of the ſame Place: however, what is here ſaid, may almoſt as well be ſaid of any other Siege.

his Scaling-Ladders every where got ready. Then his Slingers, and Archers, and Darters, mix'd with the Foot, beginning the Attack, ſmote the Beſieged with miſſive Weapons, and, at the ſame time, gall'd them with Darts from their Engines, inſomuch that the Walls were deſerted by the *Barbarians*, and the Ladders being immediately fix'd, the *Macedonians* mounted, and entering the City, kill'd all the Men they met (for ſo *Alexander* had commanded); but the Women, and Children, and the Riches of the Place were given as Spoil to the Soldiers. Thence, he moved to another of thoſe Cities, which was built, and fortified like the former; which he aſſaulted, and took the ſame Day, and diſpoſed of the Captives in the ſame Manner. Thence, proceeding to the [2] third City, on the next Day, he took it, at the firſt Attack. In the mean time, while He, at the Head of his Troops of Foot, was buſied in reducing thoſe Places, he diſpatch'd his Horſe to other two Cities, not far off, with Orders to take care, that the Citizens, when they heard of the ſtorming of their Neighbour-Towns, and his nigh Approach, ſhould not betake themſelves to Flight, and ſo render it a difficult Task for him to overtake them. And as he thought, ſo it happen'd, that the Diſpatch of theſe Troops thither, was neceſſary; for the *Barbarians*, who held the other two Cities, not yet taken, ſeeing the Smoke of that over-againſt them, which was then on Fire, (and beſides, ſome who had eſcaped out of that Calamity, bringing them the News) they fled out of both the

[2] *Curtius* has given us an Account but of two or three Cities, at the moſt, which were beſieged, and taken by *Alexander*, in this Country; whereas *Arrian* aſſures us, there were ſeven, and takes notice of the taking of each of them. Whether thoſe People, whom *Curtius* calls the *Memaceni*, *lib.* vii. *cap.* 6. 17. might not be the Inhabitants of ſome of theſe ſeven Cities, I know not; perhaps they might. If ſo, he has made mention of three. However, the *Memaceni* are ſpoke of by no Author, except himſelf.

Cities,

Cities, as faſt as they could; but falling in among the Horſe, poſted for that purpoſe, were moſt of them ſlain.

CHAP. III.

THESE five Cities, thus taken, and deſtroy'd, in two Days; he haſted to [1] *Cyropolis*, the greateſt, and moſt populous of the whole Country. It was ſurrounded with a Wall, much higher than any of the reſt, and was built by *Cyrus*; and, as many *Barbarians*, both ſtout and warlike, had fled for Shelter thither, it was not to be ſuppoſed, that the *Macedonians* ſhould gain it at the firſt Aſſault. Wherefore, *Alexander* having planted his Engines in Places convenient, determined to batter the Wall, and where-ever he made a Breach, to ſtorm the Place: But finding the Channel of the River, which uſually run thro' the Town like a Torrent, at that Time dry, and the Wall disjoin'd, ſo as to afford an Entrance for his Soldiers, He, with his Body-Guards, his Targeteers, his Archers, and *Agrians*, (while the *Barbarians* were employ'd in guarding themſelves from the Engines, and the Aſſailants) privately enter'd the City, at firſt, with a few Men, thro'

[1] We are told by *Curtius*, that *Alexander* diſpatch'd *Craterus* to beſiege *Cyropolis*, *lib.* vii. *cap.* 6. 16. tho' it is evident from *Arrian*, that he was rather ſent to block it up, and hinder its Inhabitants from ſuccouring their Neighbours. However, preſently after, he ſeems to forget himſelf; for he adds, "that *Alexander* order'd *Perdiccas*, and *Meleager*, who were beſieging *Cyropolis*, to raiſe the Siege, and come and join his Army, then lying before the City of the *Memaceni*." —— I wonder where *Craterus* was then, or where the other two were before. That the Blockade of *Cyropolis* was not raiſed, is manifeſt from *Arrian*; ſo that the whole Story of the *Memaceni*, looks like a Fiction.

that [2] Channel, and having burſt open the Gates, nigh that Part, gave an eaſy Admittance to the reſt. The *Barbarians* then, notwithſtanding they perceived their City taken, falling upon the *Macedonians*, a ſharp Battle enſued, wherein *Alexander* himſelf received a Blow on the Head and Neck, with a Stone, and *Craterus*, and many more of his Captains were wounded with miſſive Weapons. However, the *Barbarians* were at laſt driven out of the *Forum*. In the mean time, thoſe who batter'd the Wall, ſeeing it void of Defendants, took it, and at their firſt Entrance, ſlew about Eight thouſand of the Enemy. The reſt (for the whole Number, there gathered together, was Eighteen thouſand) retired into the Caſtle: But theſe, when *Alexander* had continued his Siege but one Day, being deſtitute of Water, ſurrender'd the Place. Thence, moving to the ſeventh City, he took it at the firſt Aſſault. *Ptolemey*, indeed, ſays, it was deliver'd up without fighting; but *Ariſtobulus*, on the contrary, affirms, that it was taken by Storm, and all who were found therein, ſlain. *Ptolomey* tells us, that the Captives were diſperſed throughout the Army, and kept chained, till he ſhould depart out of that Country, leſt any of thoſe, who had occaſioned the Revolt, ſhould be left.

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[2] *Arrian* gives us a far more particular Relation of this Siege, than either *Curtius*, or any other Author. *Curtius*, *lib.* vii. *cap.* 6. 21. tells us, that *Alexander* cauſed the Walls to be undermined, and entered thro' the Breach; whereas *Arrian* affirms, that, at that Time, there was no Occaſion for undermining the Wall, the Channel of the River, which was then dry, affording a ſufficient Space, for a few, to enter unobſerved; and theſe, having burſt open a Gate, gave a ſpeedy Entrance to the reſt. The Circumſtance of *Alexander*'s receiving a Blow on the Neck, with a Stone, is confirm'd by *Curtius*, and *Plutarch*; only *Plutarch* (relying, perhaps, too much on his Memory) ſays, it happen'd in *Hyrcania*, and adds, that his Eyes were ſo much damaged thereby, that he was afraid of loſing his Sight, for ſeveral Days. See *Plut. de Fortuna Alex. lib.* ii. *c.* 21. *Curtius* has confounded this Siege with that of the *Memaceni*.

About

About this Time, an Army of *Aſiatick Scythians* aſſembled on the Banks of the River *Tanais*, becauſe they had heard, that ſome *Barbarians*, on the other Side, had revolted from *Alexander*, that if the Revolt was any thing conſiderable, they might alſo fall off from the *Macedonians*. Then came News to *Alexander*, that *Spitamenes* had beſieged thoſe whom he had left in Garriſon in the Caſtle of [3] *Maracanda*; wherefore, having diſpatch'd [4] *Andromachus*, *Menedemus*, and *Caranus*, with Sixty of his auxiliary Horſe, and Eight hundred Mercenaries, under the Command of *Caranus*, and about

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[3] "The City *Maracanda*, ſays *Curtius*, *lib.* vii. *cap.* 6. 10. is ſurrounded with a Wall of Seventy Furlongs in Compaſs; but the Caſtle "has no Wall round it."—No! What has it then?—Why, ſay ſome of his Commentators, "it is, perhaps, ſeated on ſo high a Rock, that "its Situation ſerves inſtead of a Wall."—Suppoſe it be, How can any natural Rock, was it as high as the Atmoſphere, be properly call'd a Caſtle? Others of his Commentators have found out another Way to bring him off, by alledging, that the *nullo Muro* there, is an Error, and ought to be *Muro illius*. And ſo may I ſay, with as much Truth, it ought to be any thing elſe. However, let us ſee what they will get by making it *Muro illius*. The Senſe of the Paragraph will then run thus: "The City has a Wall of Seventy Furlongs in Compaſs; "but the Caſtle is ſurrounded with its Wall."—If by this, is meant, that the Caſtle has no Wall, but what is common to the Town, it is then only a Part of the Town, and no Caſtle at all. If it has a Wall of its own, and there be no Communication between it and the Town, the Town is never the better for it, and it might as well have been upon *Salisbury Plain*: But if it has a Wall, as well to divide it from the Town, as to ſecure it from an Enemy, with a ſafe Communication between it and the Town, why was not this Wall taken notice of by *Curtius*, as well as that of the Town?

[4] *Curtius* gives us an Account only of *Menedemus*, *lib.* vii. *cap.* 6. 24. and acquaints us, that *Spitamenes* had driven the *Macedonian* Garriſon out of the Caſtle of *Maracanda*, whereupon *Alexander* diſpatch'd *Menedemus*, with Three thouſand Foot, and Eight hundred Horſe, to put a Stop to his Career.—*Arrian*, tho' he joins *Andromachus* and *Caranus* with him, makes the Number of Foot no more than One thouſand five hundred. As to *Spitamenes*'s driving out the Garriſon, *Arrian* affirms the contrary, and tells us, in the Fifth Chapter of this Book, that he did, indeed, lay Siege to the Caſtle, but the *Macedonians* making an unexpected Sally, and he hearing that a Reinforcement was nigh, broke up the Siege, and retired from before it.

One

One thouſand and five hundred mercenary Foot; over thoſe he appointed *Pharnuces* the Interpreter, a *Lycian*, skill'd in the *Barbarian* Language, and well qualified to treat with them. [5] He ſurrounded the City, which he was now building, with a Wall, in twenty Days ſpace, and gave it for a Reſidence to ſome *Greek* Mercenaries, and to all ſuch *Barbarians* as had a mind to inhabit there; as alſo to ſome *Macedonians*, who were become unfit for Service.

CHAP. IV.

THEN, offering Sacrifices to the Gods, according to the Cuſtom of his Country, and having exhibited *Equeſtrian* and *Gymnick* Exerciſes, when he ſaw that the *Scythians* retired not from the Banks of the *Tanais*, but threw their Darts acroſs the River, (which was not broad there) and uſed reviling Speeches, according to their barbarous manner, giving out, that *Alexander* durſt not encounter them, or if he did, he ſhould ſoon feel the Difference, between them, and the *Aſiatick Barbarians*: He, enraged at this, reſolved to paſs over to them; and accordingly, ordered the Skins, which cover'd their Tents, to be made ready. Then, Sacrifices being offer'd, for their ſafe Paſſage, the [1] Omens proved inauſpicious. This, he took very ill,

[5] "*Alexander*, ſays *Curtius*, *lib.* vii. *cap.* 6. 25. returned to the "River *Tanais*, where he incloſed, with a Wall, as much Ground as "his Camp had taken up, which was Sixty Furlongs in Compaſs, "and cauſed the Town, he built therein, to be call'd *Alexandria*. "The Walls, and Houſes, he afterwards tells us, were compleated in "ſeventeen Days."

[1] We have a merry Dialogue in *Curtius*, *lib.* vii. *cap.* 7. 8. *&c.* which paſs'd between the King, and *Ariſtander* the Soothſayer, at this

ill, but bore it with Patience, and kept his Station: But the *Scythians* ſtill perſiſting in their Scoffs, he again ſacrificed, for a ſafe Paſſage; and notwithſtanding *Ariſtander* aſſured him, that the Omens ſtill portended Danger, *Alexander* replied, That he had rather run the extreameſt Hazard, than, after having ſubdued almoſt all *Aſia*, to be a Sport to the *Scythians*, as *Darius* the Father of *Xerxes* had formerly been. *Ariſtander* proteſted, that he told him the divine Portents, truly and faithfully, tho' *Alexander* had much rather have heard a different Relation. However, having prepared the Skins for ferrying over, and his arm'd Troops now ready to enter the River, upon a Sign given, he order'd his Engineers to gall the *Scythians*, upon the oppoſite Bank, with Darts. This was accordingly done, and ſome of the Enemy were wounded, and one, in particular, loſing his Shield, and Breaſtplate, fell from his Horſe. The *Barbarians*, terrified at the Strength of their Engines, which could caſt Darts at ſuch a Diſtance, and at the Loſs of ſo ſtout a

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this River. The King had an Ambition to paſs over it, and encounter the *Scythians*, on the other Side; and accordingly, commanded *Ariſtander* to ſacrifice, and foretel the Event. While the Sacrifice was preparing, the King made a fine Speech, declaring his Reſolution to paſs over. His Friends, or chief Officers, endeavoured to diſſuade him, eſpecially *Erigyius*, who told him, he had heard *Ariſtander* ſay, that the Gods were againſt this Journey, and the Omens were inauſpicious. Hereupon, the King calling *Ariſtander*, reprimanded him ſeverely, for preſuming to declare the Omens to any but himſelf, and all in a Rage, commanded him to tell his Thoughts, that he might hear, if they agreed with the Report. The Soothſayer, after ſome humming and hawing, told the King, to pleaſe him, That the Attempt would, indeed, be difficult, but not fruitleſs; and that the King's preſent Indiſpoſition was the only Obſtacle, he could perceive by his Art. *Alexander* then commanded him to retire, while he adviſed with his Council, concerning the Paſſage over. However, he (the Soothſayer) ſoon returned, and declared, he had ſacrificed again, and found a vaſt Alteration in the Intrails, for they appeared now, as auſpicious as ever he had ſeen. —— Who cannot perceive, by all this, that the Prieſt was a Tool to the General, and forced to ſpeak what he knew would pleaſe him beſt?

Man,

Man, retired a little from the River. *Alexander* ſeeing the Effect of his miſſive Weapons, ferry'd over, with Trumpets ſounding; and his whole Army followed. [2] The Archers, and Slingers being the firſt, which arrived on the other Side, they begun to gall the Enemy with Stones, and Arrows, and kept them from falling upon the Phalanx, which was then paſſing over; and this they continued, till all the Forces were ſafe landed. When this was performed, he firſt of all ſent one Troop of the auxiliary Horſe, and four Cohorts of Spearmen,

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[2] The Story of this Action, is told ſomewhat different by *Curtius*; but I have not room to inſiſt on the Particulars. He ſeldom relates the Succeſs of a Battle, but he obliges us with a fine Speech firſt. Here, *lib.* vii. *cap.* 8. 8. he tells us a Story of the *Scythians* ſending Twenty Embaſſadors to *Alexander*, to diſſuade, or rather deter him from paſſing over the River: One of them was Spokeſman; but perhaps they laid their Heads together, to pen the Speech: However that be, it is much more florid than juſt, and ſavours too rank of the *Roſtrum*, to have us imagine, it came from a *Barbarian*. "Had the Gods, ſays he to *Alexander*, given thee a Body equal to the "Largeneſs of thy Soul, the whole Univerſe would not contain thee. "With one Hand, thou wouldſt graſp the Eaſt, and with the other, "the Weſt, and be ambitious of knowing where the Sun ends his "Courſe. From *Aſia*, thou paſſeſt into *Europe*; from thence, into "*Aſia* again; and ſhould Men be wanting, to wage War with, you "give Reaſon to believe, you would encounter Woods, Mountains, "Rivers, and even wild Beaſts." —— Had ſuch Stuff as this, been really ſpoke to *Alexander*, he would have broke the Embaſſadors Heads, and diſmiſs'd them, without any other Anſwer. However, after this *Scythian* had continued his Speech to the Length of two whole Pages, he concludes, by aſſuring *Alexander*, "that he might "uſe them as his Keepers both of *Europe* and *Aſia*; for between us "and *Bactria*, ſays he, is only the River *Tanais*, beyond which, we "inhabit, as far as *Thrace*; to which, if Fame deceives us not, your "Kingdom of *Macedonia* joins. Since therefore, we border on this "acquired, and your other hereditary Kingdom, whether you will "have us Friends or Foes, we leave to your mature Conſideration." —— Sure *Alexander* muſt be ſtrangely beſotted, if (after he had paſs'd thro' ſo many vaſt Countries, to the Eaſtward) he imagined himſelf ſtill within the Smoke of his Mother's Chimney: He, and the Embaſſadors, whoever they were, knew much better than ſo, only *Curtius* did not, and would therefore fain perſuade us, that the Embaſſadors, and even *Alexander*, were as ignorant as himſelf.

againſt

againſt the *Scythians*, whoſe Shock the Enemy eaſily bore, and ſurrounding them with their Horſe, being a multitude, againſt a few, readily recover'd their Ranks. *Alexander* then diſpatch'd his Archers, and *Agrians*, and other light-arm'd Foot, under the Command of *Balacrus*, and order'd them to mix with three Troops of auxiliary Horſe, and all the Darters on Horſeback, and proceed againſt the Enemy; He himſelf, with the reſt of the Horſe, deſigning to attack them on the other Side. And now they were no longer able to draw up their Forces, in the ſame circular manner, they did before; for the *Macedonian* Horſe, preſſing them on one hand, and the light-arm'd Foot, mix'd among the Horſe, on the other, hinder'd them from ſhewing their Dexterity that way. Then their Flight was apparent, about [3] a Thouſand of their Number being ſlain upon the Spot, and among the reſt, one of their Generals, named *Satraces*; and One hundred and fifty were taken Priſoners. But when he proceeded to purſue the *Scythians*, his whole Army were ſo overcome with exceſſive Heat, that they were ready to die with Thirſt; even *Alexander* himſelf, having drunk ſome corrupted Water, ſuch as the Country afforded, was thereby thrown into a violent Flux, which hinder'd the Purſuit; otherwiſe, the whole *Scythian* Army had, in all probability, been either cut off, in their Flight, or taken Captives: but he was brought back to the Camp, in great Danger of his Life; and thereby the Prophecy of *Ariſtander* was accompliſhed.

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[3] *Curtius* gives us no Account, what Number of *Scythians* periſhed in this Fight; but tells us, *lib.* vii. *cap.* 9. 17. that the *Macedonians* loſt Sixty Horſe, and about One hundred Foot; and had a Thouſand wounded.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

SOON after this, arrived Embaſſadors from the King of theſe *Scythians*, endeavouring to excuſe the Fact, as not done by the general Conſent of the whole *Scythian* Nation, but by a Party, who exerciſed Robbery, and lived by Spoil; but aſſuring him, that they were willing to receive his Commands. *Alexander* return'd them a courteous Anſwer, as neither deeming it prudent to ſeem to ſuſpect the Truth of the Excuſe they made, nor to revenge his Cauſe, by giving them Battle, which it was no ways convenient for him, at that Juncture, to attempt. In the mean time, the *Macedonians* who were beſieged in the Caſtle of *Maracanda*, when *Spitamenes*, with his Forces, aſſaulted them, made a ſudden Excurſion, and having kill'd ſome of the Beſiegers, and put the reſt to Flight, return'd ſafe into the Caſtle; and News afterwards coming to *Spitamenes*, that the Forces deſign'd for the Relief of the Beſieged in the Caſtle of *Maracanda*, were at hand, he raiſed the Siege of that Place, and retired towards the capital City of the *Sogdian* Kingdom: *Pharnuces*, and his Forces, purſued him as far as the Confines of *Sogdia*, but not being able to overtake him, fell accidentally upon a Party of [1] *Nomadian Scythians*, and irritated them to that degree,

[1] We have this Story told vaſtly different by *Curtius*, *lib.* vii. *cap.* 7. 31. and ſomething more agreeable to that of *Ariſtobulus*, in the following Chapter; but all the while, he gives us not one Word either of *Andromachus*, *Caranus*, or *Pharnuces*. "When *Menedemus*, ſays "he, who was ſent to beſiege *Spitamenes*.—— This is a Miſtake; for the *Macedonians* ſtill kept Poſſeſſion of the Caſtle, and *Spitamenes* was only endeavouring to wreſt it out of their Hands.—— "approach'd "the

degree, that about Six hundred Horſe of them, haſted and join'd *Spitamenes*, who, receiving ſuch a Recruit, was reſolved to revenge the late Inſult of the *Macedonians*; to which end, drawing up his Forces, in a plain Place, on the Edge of the *Scythian* Wilderneſs, he determined neither to wait for the Enemy, nor yet to meet, and attack them; but (taking a Compaſs with his Horſe) to gall their Phalanx of Foot, with their Arrows. But *Pharnuces* ruſhing forwards upon them, with his Horſe, eaſily fruſtrated that Deſign, becauſe their Horſes, at that Time, were both ſwifter, and ſtronger than thoſe of the *Scythians*: but [2] *Ariſtomachus*'s Horſe,

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" the City *(Maracanda) Spitamenes* being inform'd of his coming, " laid an Ambuſcade of *Dahæ*, in a Wood, thro' which he was to " paſs, who preſently ſurrounded him; which, when *Menedemus* " perceived, notwithſtanding the Inequality of Numbers, he encou- " raged his Soldiers to make a brave Reſiſtance, aſſuring them, there " was no Hope left, but to revenge each other's Deaths, by the Slaugh- " ter of their Enemies. He himſelf was mounted on a ſtrong Horſe, " with which he had often broke the Enemies Ranks, and put them " to Flight; but being now attack'd on all Sides, and beginning to " faint, thro' Loſs of Blood, he order'd *Hipſides*, one of his Friends, " to mount his Horſe, and fly. He had no ſooner ſaid this, than his " Breath ceaſed, and he fell from his Horſe, and died." —— This General might fight like a Dragon, but 'tis certain, he gave cowardly Advice to his Friend, at his Death; and beſides, as he loſt his Spirits, he ſeems to have loſt his Senſes; for he had, juſt before, told them, there was no way left, but to ſell their Lives as dear as they could. However, now he forgets all that, and lends his Friend his Horſe, to enable him to run away. But his Friend was more of a Man, than to take his Advice; — " For he, ruſhing among the thickeſt of " his Enemies, after a memorable Reſiſtance, was ſlain by a multitude " of Darts. The reſt, after the Death of their Commander, gain'd " the Top of a Hill, and *Spitamenes* incloſed them, with a Deſign to " ſtarve them from thence." —— Whether he did ſo or no, *Curtius* tells us not: but, methinks, as *Spitamenes* had incloſed them before, and cut moſt of them off, he needed only to have given himſelf the Trouble of marching up to the Top of the Hill, and he might have ſerv'd the reſt the ſame Sauce. — He then proceeds to acquaint us, that the *Macedonians* loſt Two thouſand Foot, and Three hundred Horſe, in that Battle.

[2] This is certainly an Error in the Copies of *Arrian*, and ought to be *Andromachus*; for no ſuch Name as *Ariſtomachus* is to be found, for a vaſt way, either before this Place, or after.

wearied

wearied with hard Travel, and waſted for want of Food, were hard preſs'd by the *Scythians*, both while they ſtood their Ground, and when they retired. Many of them being, therefore, wounded with Arrows, and ſome ſlain, thoſe who remain'd, drew up in a ſquare Battalion, and retreated to the River *Polytimetus*, becauſe there was a Wood adjacent to it, which would cover them, in a great meaſure, from the *Barbarians* Arrows, and which might alſo be uſeful to their Foot. *Caranus*, Captain of one of the Troops of Horſe, without conſulting with *Andromachus*, had already attempted to paſs the River, becauſe he thought his Horſe might be ſafer on the further Side. The Foot followed the Horſe, without any Orders, but as their Fears urged them forwards; this was the moſt diſorderly Paſſage over a River, with ſteep Banks, that could be imagined. The *Barbarians* ſeeing the *Macedonians* thus at a Loſs, enter'd the River, in ſeveral Places, with their Horſe, and ſome of them attack'd thoſe who endeavoured to paſs over, but returned; ſome then placing themſelves oppoſite to thoſe who ſtill went forwards, ſlew them in the River; others flanking them, gall'd them with their Arrows; whilſt others again, ruſh'd upon thoſe who had not yet enter'd the Water. The *Macedonians* ſeeing themſelves preſs'd with ſo many Difficulties, retreated into a ſmall Iſland, which the *Scythians*, and *Spitamenes* entirely ſurrounding, with their Horſe, ſlew them all, with their Arrows, at a Diſtance, except a very few, whom they firſt ſeiz'd, and afterwards put to Death.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

ARISTOBULUS gives us an Account of this Action, ſomewhat different, namely, that the greateſt part of the Army was cut off, by an Ambuſcade of the *Scythians*, who, lying conceal'd in ſome adjoining Thickets, attack'd the *Macedonians* ſuddenly, and unexpectedly; he alſo tells us, that *Pharnuces* was willing to have reſign'd his Poſt, as General of thoſe Forces, who were with him, alledging his want of Skill in military Diſcipline, and that he was rather ſent thither, by *Alexander*, to bring the *Barbarians* to Reaſon, by his Knowledge in their Language, than to reduce them by Force of Arms, as a General: He alſo declared, that the *Macedonians*, then committed to his Care, were the King's Friends, as well as the reſt. But *Andromachus*, and *Menedemus*, and *Caranus* refuſed to act as Generals, partly becauſe they would not ſeem to exceed the Commiſſion, which they had received from the King, and partly becauſe the Forces were then reduced to ſuch Streights, as render'd it unſafe for them to accept it; for they well conſider'd, that if any Diſaſter happen'd, they were not, then, each to give an Account for their ſeveral Parts in that Loſs, but that the ill Succeſs of the whole Army would be laid to their Charge. In this Confuſion, and Hurry of Affairs, the *Scythians* ruſh'd, ſuddenly, upon them, and cut them almoſt all off; ſo that not above Forty Horſe, and about Three hundred Foot eſcaped. When *Alexander* heard this News, he was enfaged at the Loſs of his Soldiers, and therefore determined ſpeedily to march, with an Army, againſt *Spitamenes*, and the *Barbarians*; and taking with him the half of his auxiliary Horſe,

with all his Targeteers, Archers, and *Agrians*, and ſome of his light-arm'd Phalanx of Foot, he haſted to *Maracanda*, (whither, he was inform'd, *Spitamenes* had return'd) [1] reſolving, once more, to raiſe the Siege of the Caſtle there. Wherefore, having march'd a Thouſand five hundred Furlongs, in three Days ſpace, on the fourth, early in the Morning, he approach'd the City: But *Spitamenes* hearing of *Alexander*'s ſpeedy Arrival in theſe Parts, and not daring to give him Battle, raiſed the Siege, and fled. *Alexander* purſued them vigorouſly, and coming to the Place where the former Battle was fought, buried his Soldiers, as well as the Time would allow, and continued his Purſuit, as far as the *Scythian* Deſarts. Returning thence, he laid their Fields waſte, and even ſlew thoſe, who had fled into the Towns for Refuge, becauſe they were ſaid to have uſed the *Macedonians* in that Manner: And thus he over-run, and depopulated the whole Country, through which *Polytimetus* paſſes; for all beyond the Place where that River loſes itſelf, is a Deſart; for tho' it carries a full Stream, it [2] ſinks from Sight, and hides its Streams in the Sand. Nor is it ſo ſtrange

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[1] By this, we may perceive, that this Caſtle never came into the Hands of the *Barbarians*, after the *Macedonians* firſt took Poſſeſſion thereof; and tho' *Spitamenes* laid Siege to it twice, he was forced, both Times, to raiſe his Siege, and depart.

[2] The Account of the River *Polytimetus*, in *Curtius*, differs from this; for he ſays, *lib.* vii. *cap.* 10. 2. that "it runs almoſt the whole "Length of *Sogdia*; that its Channel is but narrow, but its Stream "ſwift, and at laſt it goes under Ground, where the Courſe of it "may be heard."— *Strabo*'s Relation thereof, *lib.* xv. agrees with *Arrian*. What the Name of this River was, before *Alexander*'s Time, is not known; but that *Polytimetus* is a *Greek* Word, and was a Name given it by the *Greeks*, is unqueſtionable. *Curtius* tells us, the Inhabitants call it *Polytimetus*.— If by this, he imagines, that the Inhabitants of the Country call'd it ſo, before *Alexander*'s Arrival there, he is miſtaken; and if he means, that the Inhabitants really call'd it ſo, in his Days, I am afraid he is alſo miſtaken. However, the latter Opinion may paſs for probable, tho', I fancy, the firſt was his true Meaning.

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in this, for many other great, and conſtant Rivers, hide themſelves in the ſame manner; as namely, *Epardus*, which waters the Territories of the *Mardi*; and *Arius*, which gives Name to the Country of the *Arii*; as alſo *Etymandrus*, which flows thro' the Confines of the *Euergetæ*. Theſe are all vaſt Rivers, none of them inferior to *Peneus* in *Theſſaly*, which paſſing thro' *Tempe*, diſcharges itſelf into the Sea: but the River *Polytimetus* far exceeds it.

CHAP. VII.

AFTER this, *Alexander* march'd to *Zariaſpa*, where he tarried ſome time, putting his Soldiers into Winter-Quarters. In the mean while, arrived *Phrataphernes* Governor of *Parthia*, and *Staſanor*, whom he had diſpatch'd to the Country of the *Arii*, to ſeize *Arſames*. Him they brought with them, bound in Chains, as alſo *Barzanes*, whom *Beſſus* had made Governor of the *Parthians*, and ſome others, who, at that Time, had taken up Arms for *Beſſus*. Then arrived from the Sea-coaſt, *Epocillus*, and [1] *Melamnidas*, with *Ptolemey* Captain of the *Thracians*, who had convey'd the Money, and the Recruits ſent with *Menetes* to the Sea. Then alſo came *Aſander*, and *Nearchus*, with a freſh Band of *Greek* Mercenaries, and *Beſſus* Governor of *Syria*, and *Aſclepiodorus*, a Captain of Horſe; and theſe, alſo brought new Forces. Here, *Alexander* calling a Council of all the chief Men, then

[1] This *Melamnidas* may, perhaps, be the ſame with *Curtius*'s *Menidas*; however, he omits the Names of many of the reſt, and ſubſtitutes others, inſtead of ſome of them. See his Account, *lib.* vii. *cap.* 10, 11, *&c.*

preſent, cauſed [2] *Beſſus* to be brought in, and having accuſed him of Treachery towards *Darius*, he commanded his Noſe, and Ears to be cut off, and then ſent him, under a Guard, to *Ecbatana*, there to receive Sentence of Death, according to the Judgment of a full Council of the *Medes* and *Perſians*. This extream Severity uſed to the Perſon of *Beſſus*, I deem no ways praiſe-worthy; and ſurely, the Mutilation of his Noſe, and Ears, was an Action little leſs than barbarous: tho' I cannot but think, *Alexander* was led to this, by his emulating the *Median* and *Perſian*

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[2] Moſt Authors differ about the Manner of *Beſſus*'s Puniſhment, and many of them about the Place where he ſuffer'd Death. *Diodorus*, *lib.* xvii. *p.* 554. acquaints us, that he was delivered to *Oxathres*, the Brother of *Darius*, to inflict what Puniſhment upon him he pleaſed. Wherefore, after he, and his Kinſmen, had exerciſed all kind of Tortures upon him, they cut his Body into ſmall Pieces, and threw it away with Slings. *Plutarch*, *p.* 28. tells us, "His Body "was, by *Alexander*'s Order, tied to two tall ſtraight Trees, which "were bound down ſo as to meet, and then being let looſe, with a "great Force, they return'd to their Places, each of them carrying "that part of the Body along which was tied to it." *Curtius*, *lib.* vii. *cap.* 5. 40. ſays, that "the King deliver'd *Beſſus* to *Oxathres*, that he "might cut off his Ears, and Noſe, and then nail him to a Croſs, "where his own Countrymen were to ſhoot him to Death. His "Body was then to be watch'd, as if it was too vile, to be devoured "either by Beaſts, or Birds. — Hereupon *Catenes*, who was an excellent Markſman, was order'd to ſcare the Crows from him; and if he was hoiſted upon a Croſs, he was out of the reach of Beaſts. — However, after all, he aſſures us, *lib.* vii. *cap.* 5. 42. that "his Execution was deferr'd, that it might be perform'd in the very Place, "where *Darius* was put to Death." — This Story is contrary to every body, and bears not ſo much as a Face of Probability. And truly, I cannot but fancy, *Curtius* was of the ſame Opinion; for *lib.* vii. *cap.* 10. 10. he tells us, that "*Beſſus* was ſent from *Bactria* to *Ecbatana*, "to pay his Life as a Recompence for the Murder of his Prince *Darius*." — We read nothing in this laſt Paragraph of *Curtius*, whether his Noſe and Ears were grown again, after they had been lopp'd; and no body ſays, that *Ecbatana* was the Place, where *Darius* was murder'd. However, *Beſſus* was not put to Death, ſo much for the Murder of *Darius*, as for his aſſuming the Royal Robes, and ſetting himſelf up for a Monarch: That ſtuck in *Alexander*'s Stomach moſt, otherwiſe, had he ſurrender'd in Time, he might as eaſily have been pardoned as *Nabarzanes*, *Satibarzanes*, and ſeveral others, who were equally concern'd in the Murder.

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Pomp and Oſtentation, as alſo by the cruel Cuſtoms of ſome barbarous Kings, over thoſe in their Power. Neither was it any ways commendable in him, to lay aſide his *Macedonian*, and Country Habit, (ſeeing he ſprung from the Race of the *Heraclidæ*) and aſſume that of *Media*: And I cannot but wonder, he did not bluſh, when he exchanged the decent Covering of the Head, which he had worn in all his Conqueſts, for the *Perſian* Turban, and weakly imitated thoſe, in Habit, whom he had ſo often overcome in the Field. But ſurely, if any thing can, *Alexander*'s high Atchievements may, be a Leſſon to Mankind, that whether a Man excels in Strength of Body, or in the Glory of his Anceſtors, or tho' in warlike Exploits, and happy Succeſs, he could even outdo *Alexander* himſelf; if he could ſail round *Africa*, and *Aſia*, (as he had deſigned) and bring them both under Subjection; nay, could he join the Dominion of *Europe*, to his former Acquiſitions of *Aſia*, and *Africa*, and thereby become Maſter of the World; all theſe Things would add nothing to the Tranquility of his Mind, nor would he be one jot the happier, unleſs he were endued with a ſuitable Moderation of Temper, how ſpecious an Appearance of Tranquility ſoever he might put on, to deceive the Eye of the World.

CHAP. VIII.

HERE, therefore, I have thought it not amiſs to give an Account of the Death of *Clitus* the Son of *Dropides*, and of *Alexander*'s extream Grief for that Action, tho' it happen'd a little while after this, in Order of Time. The *Macedonians* had obſerved a certain yearly Feſtival, in Ho-

nour of *Bacchus*, and *Alexander* had always offer'd Sacrifices to *Bacchus* on that Day; but then, *Bacchus* was neglected, and the *Dioſcuri* introduced; and theſe Sacrifices were ordered, for the future, to be performed to them, and a Banquet to be made, in Honour of them. But when the Banquet had now continued long, and the Gueſts had drunk deep, (for even in his Cups, *Alexander* now begun to imitate the Cuſtoms of the *Barbarians*) and all were heated with Wine, the Diſcourſe happen'd to hinge upon the *Dioſcuri*, after what Manner they derived their Origin from *Jove*, ſeeing *Tyndarus*, a Mortal, was their Father: When ſome of the Gueſts, willing to ſooth the King, (for ſuch Sycophants have always been deſtructive to the Affairs of Princes, and ever will) affirm'd, that the Actions of *Caſtor* and *Pollux* were no ways comparable to thoſe of *Alexander*. Others, at the ſame time, proceeded to compare his Atchievements with thoſe of *Hercules*; and withal added, that Envy alone hinder'd the preſent Race of Men, from paying him thoſe Honours, which were ſo juſtly his Due. But *Clitus*, who had, long ſince, perceived *Alexander's* Proneneſs to fall in with the *Barbarian* Cuſtoms, took theſe Speeches of his flattering Courtiers very heinouſly; and being now heated with Wine, declared, That he could neither bear to hear thoſe Indignities offer'd to the Gods, nor that the Actions of antient Heroes ſhould be extenuated, to tickle his Monarch's Ears. He affirm'd, that *Alexander's* Acts had nothing ſo great, nor ſurprizing in them, as they would inſinuate; and that they were not perform'd by him alone, but that his *Macedonians* ought, at leaſt, to ſhare the Glory with him. Theſe Words of *Clitus*, enraged *Alexander* exceedingly; and indeed, howſoever juſt his Reflections might be, I can by no means think they were ſeaſonable, at a Time of ſuch a general Drunkenneſs, but that Silence had been much better. However, when

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ſome [1] begun to leſſen the Actions of his Father *Philip*, and (that they might pleaſe *Alexander*) to declare, that nothing great nor glorious had been done by him; *Clitus*, in the higheſt Fury imaginable, begun to magnify the Exploits of *Philip*, and depreſs thoſe of *Alexander*; and even proceeded ſo far, as to upbraid him with the ſaving his Life, at the Battle of *Granicus*, and arrogantly ſtretching out his Right Hand, This Hand (ſaid he) preſerved thee, O *Alexander*, in that Conflict. *Alexander*, no longer able to endure *Clitus*'s rough, and unſeaſonable Reproaches, in a great Rage, leap'd upon him; but was held back, and reſtrain'd from hurting him, by the Gueſts then preſent at the Banquet. However, *Clitus* ſtill perſiſting in his Reflections, *Alexander* call'd for his Targeteers to attend him; but when none came, he cried out, that he was reduced to the ſame Condition with *Darius*, when he was carried about Priſoner by *Beſſus*, and his Aſſociates; and that he had now no more than an empty Title left him. Then his Friends not daring any longer to hold him, he

[1] *Curtius* omits all the firſt Part of this Chapter, and tells us, it was *Alexander* who made a Speech in Praiſe of himſelf, *lib.* viii. *cap.* 1. 23. —Which, I am ſure, he needed not have done; for he had Sycophants enough about him, to have ſaved him that Trouble: — And when he had reckon'd up many gallant Actions, which he had perform'd, he adds, that "He, without his Father *Philip*, had undertaken an Ex- "pedition into *Illyria*, and wrote Word to his Father of the Victory "he had gain'd." —— What Expedition this can be, is beyond the Power of mortal Man to know. He cannot mean, his Expedition againſt that Nation, mentioned by *Arrian*, *lib.* i. *cap.* 5. for his Father was then dead; and no Author, beſides *Curtius*, gives the leaſt Hint of any Expedition againſt them before. However, it may be urged here, in *Alexander*'s behalf, that he was drunk, and, perhaps, knew not well what he ſaid. But this is not the only Miſtake *Curtius* has been guilty of in this Story; for he makes *Clitus*, ſoon after, *lib.* viii. *cap.* 1. 41. twit *Alexander* in the Teeth, with his defending him, when he had turn'd his Back upon his Enemy. — Had this been true, *Clitus* was inſolent, to mention it; and if it was not true, *Curtius* is inexcuſable, for inſerting it.

leap'd up, and ſnatching a Lance out of the Hand of one of his Body-Guards, (ſay ſome, or, as others, a [2] *Sariſſa*, or *Macedonian* Pike, from one of his ordinary Guards) he therewith ſtruck *Clitus*, and ſlew him. *Ariſtobulus* gives us no Account, whence this Madneſs proceeded, but lays all the Blame upon *Clitus*, who, when *Alexander* was in ſuch a Fury, as to leap upon him, with a Deſign to ſlay him, (notwithſtanding he was convey'd out of the City, beyond the Walls, and Ditch, and committed to the Care of *Ptolemey* the Son of *Lagus*, for his Preſervation) could not tarry there, but muſt needs return; and then, hearing *Alexander* call upon him by Name, he anſwer'd, *Clitus* is here preſent: Whereupon *Alexander* thruſt him thro' the Body with a Pike, and ſlew him.

CHAP. IX.

AS *Clitus* deſerves the ſevereſt Cenſures, for his bitter Reproaches to his Sovereign; ſo I cannot chuſe but be ſorry for *Alexander*, who then apparently ſhew'd himſelf obnoxious to two of the greateſt Vices in Life, namely, unbridled Wrath, and Drunkenneſs; to neither of which, the meaneſt Perſon ought to give way: but then, he is exceedingly to be praiſed, becauſe, the Moment his Wine had left him, he was grieved, and repented himſelf

[2] *Curtius, lib.* viii. *cap.* 1. 52. ſays, that *Clitus* was ſlain with a Spear: *Seneca*, with a Lance: *Oroſius*, with a Hunting-Pole. *Curtius* adds, that *Alexander*, immediately after he had given him the fatal Wound, cried out, Go now to *Philip*, *Parmenio*, and *Attalus*. This may be true; but it is generally ſuppoſed to be no more than one of his Rhetorical Flouriſhes, and an Imitation of *Pyrrhus* to *Priamus*, *Æneid.* 2. *ver.* 547, *&c.*

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for what he had done. [1] Some Writers of his Life affirm, that he was reſolved to have diſpatch'd himſelf with the ſame Weapon, wherewith he had before ſlain *Clitus*; imagining he was unworthy to enjoy Life, who had ſo raſhly put his Friend to Death; tho' moſt Authors are ſilent, as to this Particular. But when he came fully to himſelf, and retired to Bed, he bewail'd his Loſs, and pour'd forth the bittereſt Complaints imaginable, often calling upon the Name of *Clitus*, and of [2] *Lanice*, the Daughter of *Dropides*, and Siſter of *Clitus*, who had been his Nurſe; complaining what a Reward, now he was arrived to Man's Eſtate, he had beſtow'd on her, for nurſing him, when he was a Child; how he had ſeen her Sons ſlain, fighting for him, and had murder'd her Brother with his own Hands. Thus he, ever and anon, cried out, that he was become the Executioner of his Friends; nay, to ſuch a Heighth of Indignation at himſelf, did his deep Remorſe drive him, that for the ſpace of three Days, he wholly abſtain'd from Food, and became entirely regardleſs of his former Sumptuouſneſs of Apparel. Some Prieſts aſcribed the Cauſe of all this, to the Wrath of *Bacchus*, becauſe *Alexander* had diſcontinued his Sacrifices. However, being at length induced, by his Friends, to refreſh his Body with a little Meat and Drink, he afterwards ſacrificed to *Bacchus*; for it was not unacceptable to him, to have that rather imputed to the Wrath of a God, than to any Crime of his own. However,

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[1] *Plutarch* is one of them, *p.* 33. *Ed. Steph.* and *Curtius* another, *lib.* viii. *cap.* 2. 4. the latter tells us this Story, as he does all the reſt of his Fictions, for undoubted Truth.

[2] *Freinſhemius*, in his Annotations to *Curtius*, *lib.* viii. *cap.* 1. 21. calls her Name *Hellanice*: *Athenæus*, *lib.* iv. *cap.* 1. *Lacnicne*, but erroneouſly, as *Gronovius* imagines. *Ælian*, *lib.* xxii. *cap.* 26. agrees with *Arrian*. *Curtius* ſays, her two Sons were ſlain at the Siege of *Miletus*, *lib.* viii. *cap.* 2. 8. tho' neither he, nor any other Author, now extant, gives us an Account of their Deaths, in that Siege.

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he is certainly to be commended, becauſe he neither made unſeemly Rejoicings, on his committing that Fact, nor, what would have been worſe, gloried in it afterwards; but acknowledged his Crime, in the moſt ſubmiſſive manner imaginable. Some affirm, that [3] *Anaxarchus* the Sophiſt, being ſent by his Friends to comfort him, when he found him lying upon the Bed, and ſighing, ſaid, in Railery, that he wonder'd why the antient Sages always placed *Juſtice* ſo near *Jupiter*, unleſs becauſe whatever was decreed by *Jupiter*, ſhould therefore be deem'd juſt; and that all the Actions of ſo great a King, as he was, ought firſt to appear juſt to himſelf, and afterwards to the reſt of Mankind. And they add, that *Alexander* was hereupon much eaſed of his Grief. But, in my Opinion, *Anaxarchus* was guilty of a much greater Error than *Alexander*, if he ſuppoſed it to be the ſober Reflection of a wiſe Man, that a King ought not to be ſo exceedingly anxious in doing good Actions, as that whatever he did, ſhould be ſo accounted by the World. Some Authors report, that *Alexander* would have divine Honours paid him, becauſe he had conceived a Notion, that he was the Son of *Hammon*, and not of *Philip*. But when he begun to affect the *Perſian* and *Median* Cuſtoms, and to imitate them in his Attire, as well as his Manners, he then ſeem'd to ſtand in need of no Flatterer, to debauch his Mind,

[3] *Curtius* takes but little notice of this; for he only ſays, *lib.* viii. *cap.* 2. 12. that the *Macedonians*, in order to alleviate the King's Melancholy for the Loſs of *Clitus*, decreed him lawfully put to Death, and would have hinder'd his Burial, had not the King commanded the contrary; tho' afterwards, *lib.* viii. *cap.* 8. he attributes the good Advice which brought *Alexander* to himſelf, as given by *Calliſthenes*. However, *Plutarch* will ſet us right, in this Caſe; for he ſays, *p.* 33. that *Calliſthenes* attempted to alleviate the King's Grief, with moral Diſcourſes; but that *Anaxarchus* was the Author of this here mentioned by *Arrian*.

not

nor any Sophiſt, ſuch as *Anaxarchus*, or [4] *Agis*, the *Greek* Poet, to ſeduce him.

CHAP. X.

CALLISTHENES the *Olynthian*, a Scholar of *Ariſtotle*, one of a Diſpoſition rough, and inflexible, entirely diſapproved theſe Methods of proceeding; for which he is worthy due Praiſe: but what he has wrote, relating to that Affair, (if he really wrote it) is no great Argument of his Humility, *(viz.)* That *Alexander*, and his Military Exploits, were no ways comparable to him, and his Writings: That he did not accompany him for any Glory he hoped, thereby, to acquire himſelf; but that he might render him the moſt illuſtrious, and moſt glorious, among Mortals: That he was not to build any Hopes of Divine Honours, upon thoſe fabulous Stories relating to his Mother, and his Birth; but rather upon thoſe Things, he ſhould hand down to Poſterity concerning him. Some alſo ſay, that when he was ask'd by *Philotas*, whom he deem'd moſt honour'd by the People of *Athens*; he anſwer'd, *Harmodius*, and *Ariſtogiton*, becauſe they had ſlain one of the Tyrants of their State, and diſſolved the Tyranny. And when *Philotas* again ask'd him, If any one was, now, to put a Tyrant to Death, in which of the *Grecian* States would he

[4] We have but a ſcurvy Character of this Poet given us by *Curtius*: "*Agis* of *Argos*, ſays he, *lib.* viii. *cap.* 5. 8. who wrote the "worſt Verſes of any, except *Cherilus*, and *Cleo* the *Sicilian*, (who "was not only a Flatterer by Diſpoſition, but by Birth, as moſt *Sici*-"*lians* are) and many more, the very Scum of the Cities they came "from, were promoted by the King, before his Friends, and the "chief Officers of the Army."

find

find Protection? he replied, If in no other, ſurely he would in *Athens*; for they had enter'd into a War, with the Sons of *Hercules*, againſt *Euryſtheus*, who had, at that Time, uſurp'd the Government of *Greece*. As to the Adoration, which ſhould have been paid to *Alexander*, there goes a Story to this purpoſe: It was agreed upon between him and his [1] Sophiſts, and thoſe of the *Perſian* and *Median* Nations, who were of the higheſt Rank, about him, that as they were drinking, they ſhould fall into a Diſcourſe on purpoſe, which *Anaxarchus* was to uſher in, by aſſerting, that *Alexander* was more worthy to be eſteem'd a God, than either *Bacchus*, or *Hercules*; and that, not ſo much on account of the Greatneſs of his Actions, as becauſe *Bacchus* was no more than a *Theban*, a Race of Men, for Valour and Renown, no ways comparable to the *Macedonians*; and as for *Hercules*, he was, indeed, a *Grecian*, but his chief Glory was, that *Alexander* deduced his Origin from him; and that, therefore, the *Macedonians* might, with much more Reaſon and Juſtice, attribute Divine Honours to their King, than either the *Thebans* to *Bacchus*, or the *Grecians* to *Hercules*. And as there was no doubt, but he would be worſhipped as a God, by his People, after Death; it would be much better to pay him the ſame Adoration, in the Time of his Life; for after his Deceaſe, no Fruits of the Honours beſtow'd upon him, by Mortals, would be able to reach him.

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[1] Theſe were, *Anaxarchus*, *Agis*, and *Charilus*; to which *Plutarch* adds, *Bageas*, and *Agnon*: and no doubt but there were abundance more.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

THESE, and many other Things to the ſame purpoſe, were ſpoke by *Anaxarchus*; and when he had finiſhed, thoſe who were of his Party, began to applaud his Oration, and declare themſelves ready to begin their Adoration immediately; upon which, many of the *Macedonians*, who diſliked *Anaxarchus*'s Speech, held their Peace: but *Calliſthenes*, breaking the general Silence, ſpoke to *Anaxarchus* in this Manner: "I cannot, O *Anaxarchus*, deem "*Alexander* unworthy any Honour, which it be- "comes a mortal Man to accept: But divine and "human Honours are widely different, as well in "other things, as in the rearing of Temples, and "the erecting of Statues. To the Gods we conſecrate "Temples, offer Sacrifices, and pour out Libations; "again, Hymns are peculiarly attributed to the "Gods: Praiſes to Men, but accompanied with "no Adoration. Men we uſually kiſs, by way of "Salutation; but the Gods being placed aloft, it "is not lawful ſo much as to touch them, becauſe "they are Objects of Worſhip. *Dances* are alſo "led up, and *Pæans* ſung in Honour of them; "which is no Wonder: But one ſort of Honours "is aſcribed to the Gods, another to Heroes; "and the Honours paid to Heroes, is vaſtly dif- "ferent from divine Adoration. It is therefore a "Matter of the utmoſt Importance, for us to avoid "confounding theſe Things, with one another; and "neither by extravagant Accumulations of Ho- "nours, to pretend to exalt Men above Mortality, "nor to debaſe the Gods, by robbing them of the "Worſhip they ſo juſtly claim, and reducing them

"to

" to a Level with Mankind. Even *Alexander* him-
" ſelf, would be enraged, ſhould any private Man
" uſurp a Royal Title, in an unlawful Manner:
" With how much more Juſtice, may the Gods be
" enraged, if any Mortal dares claim divine Ho-
" nours, or accept them, when offer'd, by others.
" That *Alexander* is, and ought to be eſteem'd of
" Heroes, the moſt heroic; of Men of Valour, the
" moſt valiant; of Kings, the moſt King-like; and
" of Emperors, the moſt worthy of Imperial Dig-
" nity, none will deny. It was thy Province, O
" *Anaxarchus*, if it was any one's, to have inſtill'd
" ſuch Notions as theſe into *Alexander's* Mind, and
" to have deterr'd him from thoſe oppoſite to them,
" by thy Diſcourſe, which he daily delights in, be-
" cauſe of thy Wiſdom, and Learning. It was highly
" unbecoming thee, to be Author of ſuch a Speech,
" who oughteſt to have call'd to mind, that thou
" waſt not then giving Counſel to *Cambyſes*, or
" *Xerxes*, but to the Son of *Philip*, who derives
" his Pedigree from *Hercules*, and *Æacus*, whoſe
" Anceſtors came to *Macedonia* from *Argos*, and
" obtain'd the Kingdom, not by Force, but by
" Law, and Right. Even *Hercules* himſelf, had
" no Divine Honours aſcribed to him, by the *Gre-*
" *cians*, during his Life, nor yet after his Death,
" till they were commanded by the *Delphick* Oracle,
" to worſhip him as a God. But if there be ſome
" few, who, among a Nation of *Barbarians*, have
" degenerated into the *Barbarian* Cuſtoms and
" Manners, I beſeech thee, O *Alexander*, ſtill to
" continue mindful of *Greece*, for whoſe ſake this
" Expedition was undertaken, that thou mighteſt
" join *Aſia* to the *Grecian* Empire: Conſider now,
" when thou returneſt into thine own Country,
" whether thou wilt force the *Greeks*, a free People,
" to pay thee Adoration; or, if they are to be ex-
" empted, whether the *Macedonians* alone are to be
" loaden with that Diſgrace, or whether different

" Honours

"Honours are to be given thee by different People, "the *Greeks* and *Macedonians* approaching thee in "their antient Manner, with ſuch as belong to "Mankind, and the *Barbarians*, after theirs, ſa- "luting thee with thoſe, which none but the Gods "can admit of. If you object to this, that *Cyrus* "the Son of *Cambyſes*, was the firſt of all Men, "who had Divine Worſhip offer'd him, and that "this has been given to the Monarchs of *Perſia*, "and *Media*, ever ſince; conſider, I beſeech thee, "that the *Scythians*, an indigent, but free People, "corrected *Cyrus*, for his unexampled Inſolency. "*Darius* the former, received a Check from another "Nation of *Scythians*: *Xerxes* from the *Athenians*, "and *Lacedæmonians*: *Artaxerxes* from *Clearchus*, "and *Xenophon*, with no more than Ten thouſand "Soldiers: and this *Darius*, from *Alexander*, before "any Divine Honours have been decreed him."

CHAP. XII.

THESE, and many other things, to the ſame purpoſe, *Calliſthenes* utter'd at that Time, which *Alexander* took heinouſly; but they were grateful to the *Macedonians*: which, when the King underſtood, he immediately ſent to examin, whether the *Macedonians* were mindful of the Adoration they owed him. While the King ſpoke, a profound Silence was obſerved; after which, thoſe *Perſians* who tranſcended others in Age, and Honours, roſe up, and begun to worſhip him, after the *Perſian* Manner. But [1] *Leonnatus*, one of his Friends, obſerving

[1] *Curtius* gives us a Story not much unlike this, only inſtead of *Leonnatus*, he ſubſtitutes *Polypercon*, who, he ſays, *lib.* viii. *cap.* 5. 22. *&c.* ſitting next the King, began to jeſt upon one who touch'd the

ſerving one of them behave undecently, ſcoff'd at his Action, as too abject, and ridiculous; whereat *Alexander* was much offended; but afterwards received him again into Favour. [2] Some write, that *Alexander* took a Golden Goblet, full of Wine, in his Hand, and having drunk it off to the Perſon he deſigned ſhould adore him, he roſe from his Seat, and having anſwer'd his Expectations, received a Kiſs, and departed. And this was performed by all the Company, in Order: But when the Cup came to *Calliſthenes*, he indeed roſe up and drunk the Wine, and drawing nearer, would have received his Kiſs, according to Cuſtom, without performing his Worſhip; and the King, then engaged in a deep Diſcourſe with *Hephæſtion*, did not obſerve whether he went thro' with it or no; but *Demetrius* the Son of *Pythonactes*, one of his Friends, ſeeing *Calliſthenes* approach nigh to kiſs the King, acquainted him, that he had not done his Duty; for which Reaſon, he received a Repulſe; whereupon he departed, ſaying, he was only one Kiſs Loſer. I am far from approving any of theſe Speeches of *Calliſthenes*, which immediately tended to diſgrace his Sovereign; neither is his rigid ſtiffneſs, and ſourneſs of Diſpoſition, any ways commendable: But this I may affirm, that whoever is reſolved to ſerve a Prince, muſt ſubmit to ſuch Things as are deem'd requiſite to the Advancement

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the Ground with his Chin, bidding him hit it a little harder; which enraged the King to ſuch a degree, that he cried out, Will not you worſhip me? Am I to be ridiculed by you? and plucking him down from his Couch, he threw him upon the Ground, and as he lay extended, Now, ſays *Alexander*, you do the ſame thing yourſelf, which you ridiculed in another; and ordering him into Cuſtody, he diſmiſs'd the reſt. However, at laſt, after a ſevere Chaſtiſement, he pardoned him.

[2] *Plutarch*, *p.* 34. aſſures us, this was *Chares* of *Mitylene*; and the Story in that Author is very near the ſame with this, only *Demetrius* the Son of *Pythonactes*, is by him ſurnamed *Pheidon*.

of

of that Prince's Honour; and therefore I cannot but think, that *Calliſthenes* became juſtly odious to *Alexander*, for the unſeaſonable, and unwarrantable Licenſe which he gave to his Tongue, as well as for his fooliſh Haughtineſs. And this, without doubt, was the Reaſon, why ſuch eaſy Credit was given to the Information lodged againſt him, of his being privy to the Conſpiracy of ſome young Men, to take away *Alexander*'s Life; and this alſo ſtrengthen'd the Accuſations of others, who proteſted, that they were induced, by him alone, to join in that Deſign.

CHAP. XIII.

THE Story of this Conſpiracy, is thus related: An Ordinance had been inſtituted by *Philip*, that the Sons of thoſe *Macedonians*, who had arrived to the higheſt Poſts of Honour, ſhould, as ſoon as they were grown up, be elected to attend the Perſon of their Sovereign. Theſe were to ſerve all the Offices about the King, to be his Guard when he ſlept, to receive the Horſe from the Groom of the Stable, and bring him for the King to mount, to clothe him in a *Perſian* Habit, and be his Companions when he rode out a Hunting. Among theſe, was *Hermolaus* the Son of *Sopolis*, who ſeem'd to be much given to the Study of Philoſophy, and was an Admirer of *Calliſthenes*. This *Hermolaus*, on a certain Time, when the King went a Hunting, and a Boar made towards him, prevented him, by ſtriking the Beaſt firſt, which immediately fell down dead. The King, enraged that this Opportunity of ſmiting the Boar was ſnatch'd out of his Hands, commanded the Youth inſtantly to be

whipp'd, in ſight of all his Companions, and his Horſe to be taken from him. *Hermolaus*, deeply reſenting this Diſgrace, communicated his Mind to *Soſtratus* the Son of *Amyntas*, one of equal Age with himſelf, and whom he exceedingly loved; and withal aſſured him, that his Life would be a Burthen to him, unleſs he could revenge this heinous Affront, upon his Sovereign. *Soſtratus*, by reaſon of the great Love he had for him, eaſily came into his Meaſures; and he, afterwards, perſuaded [1] *Antipater* the Son of *Aſclepiodorus*, Governor of *Syria*, to join with them; as alſo *Epimenes* the Son of *Arſeas*, and *Anticles* the Son of *Theocritus*, and *Philotas* the Son of *Carſis* the *Thracian*. When therefore it came to *Antipater*'s Turn to watch, they reſolved, that Night, to kill *Alexander* in his Sleep. But it ſo fell out, that the King, of his own accord, (as ſome ſay) ſat up drinking till Day-light: But *Ariſtobulus* tells us, that a certain *Syrian* Wo-

[1] *Curtius* differs from *Arrian* here; for he makes *Antipater* one of thoſe, who were drawn into this Conſpiracy, and *Aſclepiodorus* another, *lib.* viii. *cap.* 6. 9. Whereas *Arrian* ſhews us plainly, it was only *Antipater* the Son of *Aſclepiodorus*, Governor of *Syria*, who has been mentioned before: notwithſtanding which, *Aldus*, in his Edition of *Curtius*, has choſen to follow *Arrian*. *Curtius* has, indeed, given us the Names of the reſt, but without any Account, who they deſcended from; which is the Cauſe of infinite Miſtakes and Confuſion in Hiſtory. *Raderus* has been drawn into an Error, by following *Curtius* too cloſe. *Vide Comment. ad Curt. lib.* viii. *cap.* 6. 10. For he ſays, that Nine being join'd in the Conſpiracy, and their Turns of watching, coming on once every Seven Nights, there muſt have been juſt Sixty-three of theſe Guards.—So ſay I too. But then, *Arrian* has fairly prun'd away *Aſclepiodorus* from the Number; and as to *Elaptonius*, and *Nicoſtratus*, I much doubt of them, becauſe I can find their Names, as Conſpirators, no where but in *Curtius*. So that the Number will be reduced to Eight, at moſt, if not to Seven, or Six. I am ſure, *Arrian* reckons only Six, and gives us their Names ſo very plainly, as to admit of no Doubt; *(viz.) Hermolaus* the Son of *Sopolis*; *Soſtratus* the Son of *Amyntas*; *Antipater* the Son of *Aſclepiodorus*; *Epimenes* the Son of *Arſeas*; *Anticles* the Son of *Theocritus*; and *Philotas* the Son of *Carſis*.

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man, a Propheteſs, followed *Alexander*; ſhe was, at firſt, look'd upon as little leſs than frantick, both by him, and his Friends; but when, by her divine Fury, ſhe had foretold him the Truth of what would happen, by ſeveral Inſtances, ſhe was no longer diſregarded, but order'd to have free Acceſs to the King, either by Day or Night, even tho' he was aſleep. The King departing from the Banquet, late that Night, ſhe met him, in one of her divine Raptures, and begg'd that he would return, and drink till Morning. He, ſuppoſing ſhe was then inſpired, return'd accordingly, and ſo render'd the young Mens Conſpiracy abortive. The next Day, *Epimenes* the Son of *Arſeas*, one of the Conſpirators, diſcloſed the whole Matter to [2] *Chariclus* the Son of *Menander*, his Friend, who reveal'd it to *Eurylochus* the Brother of *Epimenes*. *Eurylochus*, entering the Royal Tent, declared the whole Affair to *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagus*, one of his Body-Guards: He diſcover'd it to *Alexander*, who inſtantly order'd all thoſe whom *Eurylochus* had named, to be apprehended; each of whom, being examined apart, declared his being privy to the Conſpiracy; and they gave the Names of ſeveral others.

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[2] *Epimenes*, according to *Curtius*, *lib.* viii. *cap.* 6. 20. diſcovered this Conſpiracy to his Brother *Eurylochus*, without taking any notice of *Charicles* the Son of *Menander*, his Friend; he alſo joins *Leonnatus* with *Ptolemy*, tho' *Arrian* makes no mention of him. They were ſentenced, and ſtoned to Death. *Juſtin*, *lib.* xii. *cap.* 6. tells us, that *Eurylochus* was put to Death by *Alexander*. — But he being no way concern'd in the Plot, but the Diſcoverer thereof to *Ptolemy*, 'tis the moſt unlikely thing imaginable, he ſhould ſuffer; on the contrary, *Curtius*'s Teſtimony is much the more probable, (*viz.*) that he rewarded *Eurylochus* nobly, and gave him his Brother's Life, who, tho' one of the Conſpirators, was the firſt who diſcover'd it.

CHAP. XIV.

ARISTOBULUS adds, that the Conſpirators, when ſeiz'd, not only confeſs'd their own Guilt, but alledg'd, that they were inſtigated thereto, by *Calliſthenes*; and *Ptolemy* confirms his Relation. Some Writers give a different Account of this Matter, namely, that *Alexander* bearing a deadly Grudge to *Calliſthenes*, and knowing the Intimacy which was between him and *Hermolaus*, eaſily entertained a Notion of his being concerned therein, from their Information. [1] Others aſſure us, that *Hermolaus*, being brought forth before the *Macedonians*, openly confeſs'd, that the Plot was contrived by himſelf; for that it was below the Soul of a free Man, to bear the Injuries he had received from the King; and that he, then, related all the Cruelties committed by *Alexander*, in Order, namely, the unjuſt Murder of *Philotas*, and the more inhuman one, of his Father *Parmenio*, and thoſe who ſuffer'd at that Time; the raſh, and barbarous Aſſaſſination of *Clitus*; his aſſuming the *Median* Habit; his Edict, for having Divine Honours beſtow'd upon himſelf, not yet recall'd; as alſo, his Drunkenneſs, Sloth, and Luxury; all which, when he could no longer bear, he was willing, at once, to ſet himſelf, and the reſt of the *Macedonians*, free from ſuch intolerable Slavery. They add, that then *Hermolaus*, and his Accomplices, were

[1] *Curtius* is one of the Number: He has given us the Speech of *Hermolaus*, at full Length, as exactly, as if he had taken ſhort Notes thereof; as alſo, *Alexander's* Reply, in two whole Pages, which my Readers may ſee, by conſulting him, *lib.* viii. *cap.* 7. & 8.

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ſtoned to Death, by thoſe who ſurrounded them. *Ariſtobulus* adds, that [2] *Calliſthenes* was carried round the Army, in Chains, but afterwards died a natural Death; tho' *Ptolemy* affirms, that he was ſtretch'd upon a Rack, and then crucified. So little do theſe two Writers, tho' otherwiſe of great Credit, agree between themſelves, about things ſo manifeſt, and the Circumſtances of which, could not poſſibly eſcape their Knowledge, they being both, then, preſent: So that 'tis no Wonder, theſe things are related, by other Authors, in a Manner very different. But enough of theſe Matters, which I have, here, enlarged upon, becauſe they happen'd not long after the Story of *Clitus*; and are therefore not unfitly mention'd in this Place.

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[2] The Manner of *Calliſthenes*'s Death, is variouſly related by Authors: *Arrian* has given us two different Accounts. *Curtius* tells us, he was rack'd to Death, *lib.* viii. *cap.* 8. 21. *Juſtin*, who is moſt particular in this Caſe, affirms, *lib.* xv. *cap.* 3. that all his Limbs were cruelly mangled, his Ears, Lips, and Noſe lopp'd off, and that he was afterwards incloſed in a Cage, with a Dog, and carried about *in Terrorem*, till at laſt, *Lyſimachus* kindly gave him a Doſe of Poiſon, to put an End to his Miſery. *Seneca, Suaſor.* 1. calls him *Alexander*'s *Preceptor*, and ſays, he was run thro' with a Lance. *Philoſtratus* acquaints us, *lib.* viii. *cap.* 1. that he was ſlain by the *Macedonians*, becauſe he affronted them. *Diogenes Laertius*, in his Life of *Ariſtotle*, affirms, that he was carried about in a Cage, for a Show, and at laſt, being ſeiz'd with the louſy Diſeaſe, was thrown to a Lyon. *Suidas* gives us an Account, of his being incloſed in a Cage, along with one *Nearchus*, and that he died of the louſy Diſeaſe. Thus have I preſented my Readers with all theſe Opinions, that each of them may pick and chuſe, that which pleaſes him beſt. I would willingly give him mine, but 'tis to no great purpoſe, among ſuch a Crowd. I would even conſult the Sieve and Sheers, throw the Coffee-Grounds, caſt the Dice upon a Drum-Head, or try any other ingenious Way, for his Satisfaction; but after all, it will be ſufficient to aſſure him, that Hiſtorical Facts, are not reduceable to Mathematical Certainty.

CHAP. XV.

ABOUT this Time, arrived other Embaſſadors from the [1] *European Scythians*, and with them, thoſe whom he had diſpatch'd thither, return'd. For the King which reign'd in *Scythia*, when *Alexander* ſent his Embaſſadors, was dead, and his Brother had mounted his Throne. The Purport of this Embaſſy was, That the *Scythians* were willing to receive *Alexander*'s Commands. They had alſo brought Preſents from their King, which, among them, were deem'd of great Value. To bind this League and Friendſhip between them the ſtronger, the *Scythian* King propoſed, to give his Daughter to *Alexander* to Wife; but if he deign'd not to accept of that Proffer, for himſelf, the Princes of the *Scythian* Nation, and thoſe who were in Poſts of the higheſt Honour, about his own Perſon, ſhould beſtow their Daughters in Marriage, to thoſe who were his moſt faithful Friends, and Followers: That he alſo, if he ſo thought fit, would attend him, in Perſon, to receive his Commands. About this Time alſo, came [2] *Pharaimanes* King

[1] *Curtius* and *Arrian* agree, in diſtinguiſhing theſe from the *Scythians* call'd *Abii*; but in calling them *European Scythians*, they are, undoubtedly, in an Error. Their Ruler might probably be ſome petty Prince, on the other Side the River *Jaxyrtus*, whoſe Territories were adjacent to *Bactria*, and who was either really ſuppoſed, or falſely pretended, by the *Macedonians*, to be King of *Scythia*.

[2] *Curtius* calls him *Phrataphernes* Governor of the *Choraſmeni*, and tells us, *lib.* viii. *cap.* 1. 8. that his Territories border'd upon the *Maſſagetæ*, and *Dahi*, two *Scythian* Nations, ſeated not far from the River *Oxus*, and the *Caſpian Sea*; and as this is confirm'd by *Ptolemy*, *Strabo*, *Dionyſius*, and *Pliny*, it is ſtrange that *Arrian* ſhould not

King of the *Choraſmeni*, to *Alexander*, attended with a Body of Fifteen hundred Horſe, who affirm'd, that his Territories border'd upon *Colchos*, and the *Amazonian* Nation; and that if *Alexander* was willing to undertake an Expedition againſt thoſe Countries, which border upon the *Euxine Sea*, he, for his part, would not only conduct him thither, with Safety, but alſo provide his whole Army with all Neceſſaries. *Alexander* firſt diſpatch'd the *Scythian* Embaſſadors, with a friendly Anſwer, well accommodated to the Time; but withal told them, that he was not inclined to accept of a *Scythian* Bride. Then, having highly extoll'd *Pharaimanes*, and enter'd into a League, and Friendſhip with him, declared, that it was not convenient for him, at that Time, to think of marching towards the *Euxine Sea*; but recommended him to *Artabazus* the *Perſian*, to whom he had committed the Government of the *Bactrians*, and other bordering Nations, and diſmiſs'd him. He alſo profeſs'd, that his Mind was wholly bent upon an Expedition into *India*; for when the *Indians* were ſubdued, all *Aſia* would be in his Power; and when *Aſia* was his own, he would return into *Greece*, and thence, with all his Land, as well as Naval Forces, paſs thro' the *Helleſpont*, and *Propontis*, into the *Euxine Sea*; and *Pharaimanes* proteſted, whenever he came, to be ready to fulfil his Promiſe. He then again directed

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not only call him by another Name, but place his Country near the *Euxine Sea*, inſtead of the *Caſpian*: To which I can only ſay, that they were two different Perſons, and two different Stories, how much relation ſoever they may appear to have to each other. That they were two Perſons, *Arrian* puts out of doubt; for he acquaints us, that *Phrataphernes*, who was Governor of *Parthia*, came to *Alexander* before, at *Zariaſpe*; and if the Perſons be different, it is no ſtrange matter to believe the Countries different; and *Curtius* may eaſily be ſuppoſed guilty of an Error, in ſubſtituting *Phrataphernes*, inſtead of *Pharaimanes*: He has play'd fifty ſuch Tricks as this, before.

his March to the River *Oxus*; for he deſign'd to pay the *Sogdians* another Viſit, having received Intelligence, that many of them had betaken themſelves to their ſtrong Holds, and refuſed to pay Obedience to the Governor, which he had placed over them. And when he had pitch'd his Tents not far from the Banks of that River, two [3] Fountains ſuddenly iſſued out of the Earth, near the Royal Pavilion, the one pouring forth Water, the other pure Oil. This Prodigy being related to *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagus*, he declared it to the King, who immediately offer'd Sacrifice, according to the Direction of his Soothſayers; and received an Anſwer from *Ariſtander*, that the Fountain of Oil portended, the great Toils he was to undergo, but that they would, at laſt, be crown'd with Victory.

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[3] We have but a ſmall Hint of this amazing Prodigy, in *Curtius*, which is as great a Prodigy as the other; for he ſeldom ſuffers ſuch a Story to ſlip thro' his Fingers. He only ſays, *lib.* vii. *cap.* 10. 13, *&c.* "that the Water of the River *Oxus* being muddy, and unwholeſom to drink, *Alexander*'s Soldiers were forced to dig Wells, "but finding no Water, a Spring was at laſt obſerved in the King's "Tent, which the Soldiers reported to have burſt forth on a ſudden; "and the ſuperſtitious King ſeem'd not unwilling to believe it the "Gift of ſome pitying God."—It muſt be ſome tender-hearted God indeed, who would ſave thoſe Men by a Miracle, who were the grand Plunderers of the Earth, and the Devourers of Mankind; however, if he was a pitying God, it was pity he had not ſent the Spring a little ſooner, and ſaved them the Trouble of digging.—*Strabo*, by endeavouring to account for the Fountain of Oil by natural means, has quite ſpoil'd the Miracle. *Vide lib.* xi. *p.* 788. *Caſaub.* *Plutarch* tells us, that as *Proxemus* was breaking up the Ground, near the River *Oxus*, to ſet up the Royal Pavilion, he diſcover'd a Spring of groſs oily Liquor, which, after the Top was ſcumm'd off, ran pure Oil, *p.* 35. but then he adds, that it was little different from the Water of the River *Oxus*.—No doubt but it was the ſame.—Thus the Miracle of the Oil is quite knock'd o'th' Head; and as for the Fountain of Water, I hope none of my Readers will take that for one: and, when the Prodigy is demoliſhed, the Interpretation is trifling, and not worth the liſtening to.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

HE then, with part of his Army, march'd ſtraight into the Country of the *Sogdians*; for *Polyſperchon*, and *Attalus*, and *Gorgias*, and *Meleager* were left in *Bactria*, to keep that Province under Subjection, and as well to hinder the *Barbarians* from attempting to revolt, as to reduce thoſe who had revolted already. He divided his Forces into [1] five Parts; the Command over the firſt of which, was given to *Hephæſtion*; the ſecond to *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagus*, one of his Body-Guards; the third to *Perdiccas*; the fourth to *Cænus*, and *Artabazus*: He himſelf, at the Head of the fifth, march'd towards *Maracanda*; the reſt, as they could moſt conveniently, entering the Country, reduced ſome of their ſtrong Holds, by Force, and had others ſurrender'd into their Hands. And after they had over-run the greateſt part of theſe Territories, they all met together at *Maracanda*; from whence, he diſpatch'd *Hephæſtion*, to draw new Colonies into the depopulated Cities of the *Sogdians*. He alſo ſent *Cænus*, and *Artabazus* againſt the *Scythians*, becauſe he was inform'd, that *Spitamenes* had fled thither: Himſelf, and the reſt of his Forces, marching towards the other Cities of that Country, which had revolted, eaſily brought them under Subjection. In the mean time, *Spitamenes*, at the Head of a Band of *Sogdian* Exiles, who had fled into *Scythia*,

[1] His Army, according to *Curtius*, *lib.* viii. *cap.* 1. 1. was only divided into three Parts; the Command over the firſt of which, he beſtow'd on *Hephæſtion*; that over the ſecond, on *Cænus*; and reſerved the third to himſelf.

and

and about [2] Six hundred *Maſſagetæ* Horſe, attack'd a certain Caſtle in *Bactria*, the Governor whereof, imagining no Enemy near, was ſurprized, and taken Priſoner, and all the Soldiers in the Garriſon ſlain. Having thus taken this Caſtle, they were mightily elated, and, in a few Days, march'd to *Zariaſpe*; which City, nevertheleſs, they durſt not beſiege; but, ravaging the Country round, gather'd together much Spoil. There were, then, in that City, ſome of the mercenary Horſe, who had been left there, by reaſon of their ill State of Health; and with theſe, *Pithon* the Son of *Soſicles*, the Overſeer of the Royal Houſhold of *Zariaſpe*, and *Ariſtonicus* the Harper. Theſe, having notice of this ſudden Inrode of the *Scythians*, (for they had, now, recover'd their Health ſo far, as to be able to mount their Horſes, and bear Arms) having gather'd together about Eighty of the mercenary Horſe, which had been left at *Zariaſpe*, and ſome of the Royal Youths of the Houſhold, march'd againſt the Enemy; and attacking the *Scythians* on a ſudden, when they leaſt expected any ſuch Treatment, they took from them all the Spoil they had gather'd together,

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[2] This is told in a manner ſo very different, by *Curtius*, that one would hardly ſuſpect it to be the ſame Story. "The baniſhed "*Bactrians*, ſays he, *lib.* viii. *cap.* 1. 3. with Eight hundred *Maſſa*-"*getan* Horſe, waſted the neighbouring Villages; to repreſs whoſe "Inſolence, *Attinas*, the Governor over thoſe Parts,"—I cannot imagine, who made him Governor; for we never ſo much as heard of his Name before— "march'd with Three hundred Horſe, little "ſuſpecting an Ambuſcade, which the Enemy had laid in a neigh-"bouring Wood, ordering a ſmall Party to drive ſome Cattle, to "decoy them the eaſier. Then ſtraight *Attinas*, without obſerv-"ing any Order, purſued hard after them, and entering the Wood, "they who were hid there, broke forth upon them, and cut off "all his Men."— Ay, and him too, I ſuppoſe; for we never hear a Word of him afterwards. I leave the Compariſon to my Readers. But now, as a celebrated Critic, and Cotemporary of mine, ſays upon another Occaſion, Methinks I ſmell a Rat: This *Attinas*, tho' *Curtius* has ſet him up for a Governor, ſeems to be neither better nor worſe than *Ariſtonicus* the Harper, mention'd by *Arrian*.

and

and ſlew great Numbers of thoſe who guarded it. But returning in a looſe and careleſs manner, without regard to Order, as having no Head, or Captain, they fell into an Ambuſcade of the *Scythians*, placed there by *Spitamenes*, where Seven of the Auxiliaries, and Sixty of the mercenary Horſe were ſlain; and there *Ariſtonicus* the Harper died, having behaved himſelf more like a brave Soldier, than a Muſician; but *Pithon*, being wounded, fell alive into the Enemies Hands.

CHAP. XVII.

AS ſoon as the News of this Defeat came to *Craterus*, he immediately march'd againſt the *Maſſagetæ*, who, when they heard of his Approach, fled towards the Deſart; but were hotly purſued by him, and they, and others of the ſame Nation, to the Number of about a Thouſand Horſe, were overtaken, juſt at the Edge thereof; and a ſharp Conflict happening thereupon, the *Macedonians* were Victors. Of the *Barbarians*, about [1] One hundred and fifty were ſlain; the reſt eſcaped into the Deſart, *Craterus*, and his Soldiers, not being able to purſue them further. In the mean while, [2] *Arta-*

[1] *Curtius* gives us this different; *Craterus*, ſays he, *lib.* viii. *c.* 1. 6. being inform'd of the late Diſaſter, came with all the Horſe under his Command; but the *Maſſagetæ* were gone out of his Reach. However, a Thouſand of the *Dahæ* were ſlain by him; and ſo the Rebellion ended.

[2] Hereabouts, *Curtius* diverts his Readers with a Hunting-Match, in the Woods of *Bazaria*, *lib.* viii. *cap.* 1. 11, *&c.* but it has puzzled all his Commentators, to find out where this *Bazaria* was; no Geographer, no Hiſtorian, nor any Author, but himſelf, ever dreaming of ſuch a Place. The Story is romantick enough; and ſo, in my Opinion, is the Country too.

bazus

bazus begging to be diſcharged from his Government of *Bactria*, by reaſon of his advanced Age, his Petition was granted, and *Alexander* ſubſtituted [3] *Amyntas* the Son of *Nicolaus*, to ſucceed him; and having left *Cænus* there, with his own, and *Meleager*'s Troops, beſides Four hundred of the auxiliary Horſe, all the Pikemen on Horſeback, and the *Bactrians*, and *Sogdians*, under *Amyntas*; the chief Command over all theſe, was given to *Cænus*, who order'd them to winter in *Sogdia*, partly for Garriſons to defend the Country, and partly to encounter *Spitamenes*, if he ſhould attempt to make any Inrode there, during the Winter. But *Spitamenes*, underſtanding that all Places were fill'd with *Macedonian* Garriſons, and that it would be a difficult Matter for him to make a Retreat, if he had Occaſion, reſolved, at once, to turn his whole Power againſt *Cænus*, and his Forces, imagining, he would penetrate the moſt eaſily into the Country that Way: And when he approach'd *Gabæ*, a fortified Place, belonging to the *Sogdians*, ſeated on the Borders between them, and the *Maſſagetæ Scythians*, he drew in Four thouſand *Scythian* Horſe, to join his Forces, that they might make an Irruption into *Sogdia*. Theſe *Scythians* being extream poor, as having neither Cities, nor fix'd and certain Habitations, nor poſſeſſing any thing, which they were afraid to loſe, were eaſily induced to join their Forces with any Nation. *Cænus* having Intelligence of *Spitamenes*'s Approach, march'd forth, with his Army, to meet him; and a ſharp Battle thereupon enſued, in which the Victory fell to the *Macedonians*. The *Barbarians* loſt above Eight hundred Horſe, and *Cænus* about Twenty-five Horſe, and

[3] *Artabazus*'s Province, according to *Curtius*, *lib.* viii. *cap.* 1. 19. was given to *Clitus*; but his Death happening preſently after, it was then beſtow'd upon *Amyntas*.

Twelve

Twelve Foot, in this Conflict. The *Sogdians* who ſurvived this Day's Action, as alſo many of the *Bactrians*, leaving *Spitamenes* in his Flight, came to *Cænus*, and having ſurrender'd themſelves into his Power, ſwore Fidelity to him; but the *Maſſagetæ*, and other *Scythians*, after the Loſs of the Battle, having ſeiz'd upon the Baggage of the *Bactrians*, and *Sogdians*, their Allies, accompanied *Spitamenes* in his Flight into the Deſart. But when they came to underſtand, that *Alexander* was preparing to ſcour theſe Places, they ſlew [4] *Spitamenes*, and having cut off his Head, ſent it as a Preſent to *Alexander*, hoping, by this Action, to make him ceaſe his Purſuit after them.

[4] *Curtius* has cook'd up a kind of a Love-Story here, *lib.* viii. *cap.* 3. 1, *&c.* and makes *Spitamenes* fall by the Hands of his Wife. "She had been the conſtant Companion, he ſays, both of his Flight, "and Baniſhment; but, at laſt, grew weary of his Misfortunes, and "begun to uſe all her ſoft Arts, to perſuade him rather to try *Alex-*"*ander*'s Clemency, than endeavour to eſcape his Power; and begg'd "of him, for the ſake of his three Children, whom ſhe then ſhew'd "him, to grant her Requeſt. He, imagining Treachery at the Bot-"tom of all this, threaten'd to diſpatch her; and had certainly been "as good as his Word, had not her Brothers hinder'd him. However, "he order'd her out of his Sight, and ſpent the Night among his "Miſtreſſes. Notwithſtanding all this, he condeſcended to admit "his Wife; but begg'd of her, for the future, not ſo much as to men-"tion a Surrender. She then made uſe of all her Rhetorick, to ex-"cuſe herſelf; and did it ſo effectually, that he was reſolved to get "drunk— by way of Thankſgiving.— He was then carried into his "Chamber; and when his Wife perceived how he lay, ſhe drew a "Sword, which ſhe had brought for that purpoſe, and cutting off his "Head, deliver'd it to a Servant, who, alone, was privy to the De-"ſign. Thus attended, ſhe came, all bloody, to *Alexander*'s Camp; "where *Spitamenes*'s Head was ſhew'd, and the whole Story told. "However, the King, imagining that the Horror of the Action, ex-"ceeded the Obligation ſhe had laid upon him by it, commanded her "to depart out of the Camp." *Raderus* ſays, this Story reſembles that of *Judith*, in many Particulars, only it was much more barba-rous.— To which, I think, I may make bold to add,— and much more *Apocryphal*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

ABOUT this Time, *Cænus* and *Craterus* return'd to *Alexander* at *Nautaca*; as alſo did [1] *Phrataphernes* Governor of the *Parthians*, and *Staſanor* Governor of the *Arii*, having executed whatſoever had been order'd them. *Alexander* then, giving his Army a little Reſt, (for it was now Winter) diſpatch'd *Phrataphernes* into the Country of the *Mardi* and *Topiri*, to bring [2] *Phradates* the Governor of them before him, in Chains, becauſe he had been often ſent for, and refuſed to come. *Staſanor* was diſpatch'd againſt the *Drangæ*; and [3] *Atropates* againſt the *Medes*, becauſe *Oxydates* Governor of *Media*, was inclinable to revolt. [4] *Stamenes* he order'd to *Babylon*, becauſe *Mazæus*, the Ruler

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[1] *Arrian* has told us of the Arrival of theſe Two before, as alſo, what their Commiſſion was; for which Reaſon, I wonder why he repeats it here.

[2] He is uſually call'd by this Name, in *Curtius*; but never by *Arrian*, except in this Place.

[3] *Curtius* tells us, *Arſaces* was ſent into *Media*, to ſupply the Place of *Oxydates*; which, I think, muſt be a Miſtake, and which I hope to rectify. *Alexander* having now drawn his Army into Winter-Quarters, had Time to liſten to the Complaints of all ſuch, as had been oppreſs'd by his Deputies, and to hear how Affairs went at a Diſtance; and being inform'd, that *Arſames*, (whom his Father *Artabazus* had ſubſtituted to govern the *Drangæ*, a Part of his Province) was inclinable to revolt, he ſent *Staſanor* to bring him to him; which he did, in Chains; whereupon he was appointed his Succeſſor. *Phrataphernes* was diſpatch'd, upon the ſame Errand, againſt *Autophradates*, and had his Government conferr'd upon him. *Atropates* was alſo ſent againſt *Oxydates*, and was deputed Governor of *Media*, which he held, or at leaſt a Part thereof, till his Death; and his Succeſſors continued in Poſſeſſion thereof, many Ages after.

[4] *Curtius* calls him *Deditamenes*, *lib.* vii. *cap.* 3. 17. and takes no notice of thoſe, who were ſent into *Macedonia* for Recruits.

thereof,

thereof, was ſaid to be dead; and *Sopolis*, and *Epocillus*, and *Menædas* he diſpatch'd into *Macedonia*, to fetch Recruits from thence. Then, at the Approach of the Spring, he directed his March to a [5] Fortreſs built upon a Rock in *Sogdia*, into which many of the Inhabitants of theſe Parts had fled for Refuge: among whom, were the Wife, and Daughters of *Oxyartes* the *Bactrian*; for *Oxyartes*, when he revolted from *Alexander*, had taken care to have them convey'd thither, as to an impregnable Place. And it appear'd plain to him, that if that Fort was once taken, the *Sogdians* would have no Place of Strength left, to invite them to Rebellion. As ſoon as *Alexander* approach'd the Rock, he found it every way ſteep, rugged, and difficult of Acceſs; and that the *Barbarians* had laid up ſtore of Corn, for a long Siege. The great Depth of the Snow likewiſe made the Aſcent up the Rock much more difficult to the *Macedonians*; and at the ſame time, ſupplied the *Barbarians* with Plenty of Water.

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[5] The Story of the ſtorming this Rock, and that in *chap.* xxi. are ſo ſtrangely confounded by *Curtius*, that it will be a difficult Task to ſet Things in a clear Light. *Freinſhemius* has endeavoured to bring him off, as well as he could; but he has made lame Work on't, and the beſt that can be ſaid, is, he has run into a vaſt number of Abſurdities, for want of Judgment. In the firſt place, he makes *Arimazes* Governor of this Rock. —— That might be, for any thing I know to the contrary, becauſe *Arrian* mentions not the Governor's Name: however, *Arrian* aſſures us, that the Wife, and Daughter of *Oxyartes* were taken, at the Surrender of this Rock; and *Alexander* marrying the Daughter, the Father, ſoon after, ſubmitted. *Curtius* makes her firſt, the Daughter of *Cohortanus*, *lib.* viii. *cap.* 4. 20. whom he makes Governor of a third Rock, no-body knows where, contrary to all Authors; and not only ſo, but contrary to himſelf; for he mentions her twice or thrice afterwards, as the Daughter of *Oxathres*, or *Oxyartes*. See *Curt. lib.* x. *cap.* 3. 11. & *lib.* x. *cap.* 8. 10. — That they were taken at this Rock, is evident, becauſe *Oxyartes* having ſubmitted, was made uſe of by *Alexander*, to induce *Chorienes*, the Governor of the other Rock, to ſurrender; and this even *Curtius* owns, tho' he no where tells us, when *Oxyartes* ſubmitted, and has given *Chorienes* another Name.

However,

However, in ſpite of all theſe Dangers, *Alexander* reſolved to beſiege it: For the proud and inſolent Anſwer ſent him by the *Barbarians*, ſerved only to inflame him with the greater Thirſt of Glory and Revenge. For when he ſent them a Summons, to ſurrender the Place, with an Offer, that every one of them ſhould be ſuffer'd freely to return to their Habitations; they mock'd him rudely, and barbarouſly, and inquired, whether he had furniſh'd himſelf with wing'd Soldiers, for the ſtorming that Rock? for otherwiſe, they had no Cauſe to be afraid, it being out of the Power of all other Mortals, to aſcend it, by Force. Then *Alexander* order'd a Proclamation to be iſſued forth, that the firſt Man who gain'd the Top of the Rock, ſhould have a Reward of [6] Twelve Talents beſtow'd upon him; and the ſecond, and third ſhould be gratified in Proportion to the Order of their Aſcent; and even the laſt of Ten, ſhould have Three hundred *Darics*. The extraordinary Hopes they conceived of this Gratuity, added new Vigour to the *Macedonians*, who, even of themſelves, were ſufficiently adventurous, upon the bare Thirſt of Glory.

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[6] This Reward, *Curtius* ſays, *lib.* vii. *cap.* 11. 12. was only proclaim'd to the firſt Ten; the foremoſt of which, was to have Ten Talents; the ſecond, Nine; and to decreaſe in the ſame Proportion; ſo that the laſt of the Ten, ſhould have One.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

HAVING, [1] therefore, choſe out of his whole Army, about Three hundred, of thoſe who had been moſt accuſtom'd to ſcale Walls, and climb up Rocks, in Sieges, they took with them the Iron Pins, which they had uſed in pitching their Tents, and which they deſign'd to fix in the Snow, where it was ſufficiently harden'd by the Froſt, or in the Ground, where no Snow lay. To theſe Pins, they tied ſtrong Ropes, and, in the dead of Night, made the beſt of their Way, to that Part of the Rock which was moſt ſteep, and rugged, and where, of Conſequence, a Guard was deem'd the leaſt neceſſary; and then, having fix'd their Iron Pins, ſometimes in the Snow itſelf, where-ever the Froſt had harden'd it, and ſometimes in the Ground, where it was bare, they hoiſted themſelves up, by little and little, ſome in one Place, and ſome in another. [2] Thirty of thoſe, periſhed in the Aſcent, and by falling down headlong from the Rocks, were buried ſo deep in the Snow, that their Bodies could not be found. The reſt, having gain'd the Top by Break of Day, made a Signal to their Friends below,

[1] The King, according to *Curtius*, *lib.* vii. *cap.* 11. 8. was his own Herald; and in a Speech which he makes, to animate his Soldiers to climb this Rock, among other Things, he tells them, They have accompanied him over Mountains cover'd with Snow, in paſſing the *Streights* of *Cilicia*, and in bearing the Cold of frozen *India*. —— This laſt Paragraph is falſe; for, in the firſt place, neither he, nor any of them, had ever yet ſet Foot in *India*; and, ſecondly, he has given it a quite wrong Epithet; for in all the Parts of *India*, where-ever he came afterwards, he had much more Reaſon to complain of Heat.

[2] *Curtius* ſays Thirty-two, *lib.* vii. *cap.* 11. 19.

where they were arrived, by waving their Handkerchiefs over their Heads; for ſo *Alexander* had commanded them. Upon this, he immediately diſpatch'd [3] a Herald, to give the *Barbarians* a ſecond Summons to ſurrender, without Delay, for that he had furniſh'd himſelf with wing'd Soldiers, ſuch as they ſpoke of, who had already poſſeſs'd themſelves of the utmoſt Summit of the Rock; and then the Soldiers, who had gain'd that Poſt, ſhew'd themſelves. The *Barbarians*, terrified with this unexpected Sight, ſuppoſing them to have been many more, and much better arm'd than they really were, immediately [4] ſurrender'd: So great a Dread fell upon them, at the Sight of a few *Macedonians*. The Wives, and Children of many Great Men were there taken; and, among the reſt, thoſe of *Oxyartes*. The Daughter of *Oxyartes* was named [5] *Roxane*, a Virgin, but marriageable, and by the general Conſent of Writers, the moſt beautiful of all the *Aſiatick* Women, *Darius*'s Wife excepted. *Alexander* was ſtruck with Surprize, at the Sight of her Beauty; nevertheleſs, being fully reſolved not to offer Violence to a Captive, he forbore to gratify his Deſires, till he took her, afterwards, to Wife. This Act of his, undoubtedly, deſerves the higheſt Honour,

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[3] It was *Cophes* the Son of *Artabazus*, according to *Curtius*, *lib.* vii. *cap.* 11. 23.

[4] "*Arimazes*, ſays *Curtius*, *lib.* vii. *cap.* 11. 28. looking upon his "Condition as more deſperate than it really was, with moſt of his "Commanders, came down to *Alexander*'s Camp; all whom he or"der'd to be ſcourged firſt, and afterwards to be hang'd up at the "Foot of the Hill."—— This they certainly deſerved, for their Cowardice, whether they had it or no.

[5] She is call'd the Daughter of *Cohortanus*, by *Curtius*, tho', as I have already obſerved, he contradicts himſelf twice afterwards, namely, *lib.* ix. *cap.* 8. 10. & *lib.* x. *cap.* 3. 11. *Freinſhemius* imagines, a Chaſm in the Manuſcript Copies to be the Occaſion of this Error.— He would do a good Deed, if he could bring him as cleverly off, in all the reſt of his Errors:— and as to the Name *Cohortanus*, he thinks it only a Corruption from *Chorienes*.

that

that can be given him. And as to the Wife of *Darius*, (whoſe Charms ſurpaſs'd all the *Aſiaticks*) he either had no Deſires towards her, or he took care to curb his Deſires, notwithſtanding he was in the very Heat of Youth, and at the Height of Glory, which are commonly great Debauchers of the Mind, and often cauſe Men to make a bad Uſe of thoſe Advantages which Fortune has put into their Hands. But he, out of a certain Awe or Reverence, forbore to touch her; and herein ſhew'd himſelf no leſs a Pattern of true Continency, than he had before done, of heroic Fortitude.

CHAP. XX.

THERE is a Report, that a ſhort while after the Battle of *Iſſus*, which was fought betwixt *Alexander* and *Darius*, a certain [1] Eunuch, to whom the Cuſtody of *Darius*'s Wife was committed, eſcaped out of the Camp, and fled to *Darius*; whom, when the King ſaw, he firſt ask'd him, whether his Children, and Wife, and Mother were alive? and being anſwer'd, that they were not only alive, but were ſtiled Queens, and received all the Honours which they had been accuſtomed to; he again inquired, whether his Wife continued chaſte? which he affirmed, and added, that the Conqueror had not ſo much as offer'd any Violence to her

[1] He is call'd *Tyriotes*, by *Curtius*, *lib.* iv. *cap.* 10. 28. and *Tyros*, by *Plutarch*: however, his Name is not material. *Curtius* has made a long Story of it, and ſhew'd his Talent in Rhetorick, as he always does, to the utmoſt Advantage. It were well, if he did not ſometimes ſtretch his Invention a little too much, and ſacrifice Truth, and good Senſe, for the ſake of empty Sound, and bare Probability.

Perſon, which might tend to his Diſgrace. All this he confirm'd by an Oath; and aſſured the King, that his Wife continued in the ſame State in which he left her; and that *Alexander* was the moſt temperate and chaſte Prince upon Earth. Whereupon, *Darius* is ſaid to have lifted up his Hands to Heaven, and poured forth his Prayers in this manner: "O *Jupiter*, who haſt the Diſpoſal of all the States, "and Kingdoms of the Earth, in thy Hands; grant "to re-eſtate me in the Empire of the *Medes* and "*Perſians*, which I once enjoy'd. But if thou haſt "already decreed otherwiſe, and I muſt now ceaſe "to be Lord of *Aſia*; I beg, and intreat thee, to "confer my Dominions rather on *Alexander*, than "any other." So much are good and generous Acts regarded, even by Enemies. [2] *Oxyartes*, underſtanding that the Rock was won, and his Wife, and Children taken, and beſides, that his Daughter *Roxane* was betroth'd by the Conqueror, he aſſumed his Courage, and came to *Alexander*, where he received all the Honours, to which ſuch an Affinity could intitle him.

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[2] *Curtius* tells us, *lib.* viii. *cap.* 2. 25. "that *Oxyartes*, (or *Oxathres*, "or *Oxartes*) a *Bactrian*, was employ'd by *Alexander*, to adviſe *Syſi-*"*methres* to deliver up the Rock, which he govern'd:"— Whereas, according to his own Account, *Oxathres* had not then ſurrender'd himſelf; and *Arrian* plainly aſſures us, he did not, till the Rock, wherein his Wife and Children were left, for Security, was taken; nor even then, till he was aſſured, *Alexander* had married his Daughter *Roxane*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXI.

WHEN *Alexander* had ſecured his Conqueſts in *Sogdia*, by his obtaining Poſſeſſion of this Rock, he led his Army againſt the [1] *Parætacæ*, becauſe he had received Intelligence, that there was another Fort erected upon a Rock in that Country, into which abundance of the Inhabitants had retired. This was named the Rock of *Chorienes*; and [2] *Chorienes* himſelf, and other Great Men, in vaſt Numbers, had choſen that Place for their Safety. The ſtant Height of this Rock was about Twenty Stadia, and the Circuit thereof near Sixty, every where ſteep, and craggy. There was only one Aſcent leading to the Summit, hewn out by Art, and purpoſely made ſo extreamly narrow, as not to admit of two Men to aſcend a-breaſt. The Foot of this Rock was alſo ſurrounded with a deep Ditch; ſo that whoſoever would lead an Army to it, muſt, of neceſſity, reduce ſome part of the Ditch to a Level, before he could bring his Forces to a con-

[1] After *Alexander* had beſtow'd *Clitus*'s Province on *Amyntas*, *Curtius* ſays, he march'd ſtraight to *Xenippa*, a Country hard by, *lib.* viii. *cap.* 2. 14.— Now, where this *Xenippa* was, is the Queſtion. The Name is *Greek*; but no other Author mentions it. Well, after he had perform'd Wonders there, by reducing a parcel of Rogues to Reaſon, he came, with his Army, to a Country call'd *Naura*, *lib.* viii. *cap.* 2. 19.— Another Province, which no Geographer takes notice of. However, I think it may be the *Parataca*, which *Arrian* here mentions, and which is well known.

[2] *Curtius* tells us, *lib.* viii. *cap.* 2. 7. that *Syſimithres* was Governor of this Rock, and *Cohortanus* of another, where *Roxane* was taken Priſoner: But he is contradicted in the firſt Aſſertion, by *Arrian*, and the laſt, by *Plutarch*, and *Strabo*; And, to confeſs the Truth, it is a difficult matter to know what to make of his Relation.

venient Station for an Aſſault. *Alexander*, however, in ſpite of all theſe Difficulties, reſolved to undertake the Task, as deeming no Place inacceſſible, or impregnable, againſt ſuch an Aſſailer: ſo great a Confidence did he place in the continued Courſe of his Succeſſes. Having, therefore, order'd a vaſt number of Fir-Trees, which grew every where, near this Mountain, to be cut down, he commanded Ladders to be made of them, whereby his Soldiers might deſcend to the Bottom of the [3] Ditch, which they could do by no other Contrivance. All Day long, *Alexander* employ'd the half of his Army upon this Task; and in the Night-time, *Perdiccas*, *Leonnatus*, and *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagus*, having divided the other half into three Parts, took care to ſee the Work carried on; which was of great Difficulty, by reaſon of the extraordinary Hardneſs of the Rock, that they finiſh'd no more than Twenty Cubits in a whole Day, and in a Night much leſs, tho' the whole Army labour'd therein, by Turns. However, deſcending into the Ditch, and forcing large wooden Piles into the Bottom, at ſuch a convenient Diſtance from each other, as to be able to bear a certain propoſed Weight; upon the Tops of theſe Piles, they laid vaſt Hurdles of Oſiers, or other Twigs bound together, and thoſe they cover'd with Earth, that the Army might paſs over the Ditch as upon a Bridge. The *Barbarians*, at firſt, mock'd the *Macedonians* Attempts, as dangerous, and ill-concerted; but when they found themſelves gall'd with their Arrows, and perceived, that, notwithſtanding the Advantage of their high Station, they were unable to drive them from their Work, becauſe of the Coverings they had contrived to defend themſelves with, againſt Darts, and other

[3] This, *Curtius* ſays, was a River, *lib.* viii. *cap.* 2. 24. which, coming from a higher Ground, run with a very rapid Courſe; and *Alexander* fill'd it up with Trees, and Rubbiſh.

miſſive

miſſive Weapons, from above; *Chorienes*, amazed at the Greatneſs of the Attempt, immediately diſpatch'd an Herald to *Alexander*, deſiring that *Oxyartes* might be ſent to him; which was granted, and when he came, he failed not to perſuade him to ſurrender his Rock and himſelf into *Alexander*'s Hands; for that no Place was inacceſſible to him, and his Army; and the more to induce him to ſubmit himſelf, he extoll'd the King's Goodneſs and Generoſity, whereof he was an eminent Example. *Chorienes*, won by theſe Arguments, came, with ſome of his Friends and Relations, to *Alexander*, who received him with the utmoſt Reſpect, and rank'd him among the number of his Friends; and having order'd ſome of thoſe who came down with him to aſcend again, and command thoſe who kept the Rock to deliver it up, it was accordingly deliver'd. *Alexander*, then, accompanied with about Five hundred Targeteers, mounted the Rock, on purpoſe to view the Top thereof; and was ſo far from doing any thing which might redound to *Chorienes*'s Diſgrace, that he committed the Rock again into his Cuſtody; and not only ſo, but reſtored him all his former Government. [4] About this Time, (it being ſtill Winter, and the deep Snow covering the Earth, during this Siege) the Army was reduced to ſome Streights, for want of Forage, and other Neceſſaries; but *Chorienes*, in ſome meaſure to requite *Alexander*'s Liberality, proffer'd to furniſh the whole Army with Proviſions, for two Months; and accordingly, out of the Stores, he had laid up for a Siege, he diſtributed Corn, and Wine, and Salt-Meat to the Soldiers in every Tent; all which, when

[4] We have not a Syllable of the Contents of the remaining Part of this Chapter, in *Curtius*. However, to make us amends, he has obliged us with the taking of another Rock, wherein, he ſays, *Roxane* was taken: but as we have taken her before, we ſhall take no further notice of him, nor her neither.

he had diſtributed, for the full Time propoſed, he affirm'd, that the Tenth part of what they had before gather'd together, was not yet exhauſted. *Alexander*, upon this, eſteem'd him the more, becauſe he had plainly ſhew'd, that his Surrender of the Rock, was more to be imputed to his own Inclinations that way, than to any Force of an Enemy from without.

CHAP. XXII.

THESE Things thus happily perform'd, *Alexander* march'd againſt the *Bactrians*, and, at the ſame time, diſpatch'd *Craterus*, with ſix hundred auxiliary Horſe, and his own, and *Polyſperchon*'s, *Attalus*'s and *Alcetes*'s Troops of Foot, againſt *Catanes*, and *Auſtanes*, who alone, were now remaining, of all the Revolters, in *Paretacæ*. A ſharp Battle hereupon enſued, wherein *Craterus* being Victor, *Catanes* was ſlain, and *Auſtanes* taken alive, and brought, in Chains, to *Alexander*. About One hundred and twenty of the *Barbarian* Horſe fell in this Battle, and near Fifteen hundred Foot. This done, *Craterus* alſo march'd into *Bactria*, where, at that Time, the Conſpiracy of *Calliſthenes*, and the Youths of the Royal Guard, againſt *Alexander*'s Life, was detected. From *Bactria*, the Spring now coming on, he puſh'd forwards, with all his Forces, for [1] *India*, (*Amyntas* being left Governor of *Bactria*, with

[1] "When *Alexander*, ſays *Curtius*, *lib.* viii. *cap.* 5. 1. *&c.* was "upon the point of marching into *India*, reſolving not to leave "any thing behind him, which might fruſtrate his Attempts, he "order'd Thirty thouſand Youths to be raiſed, out of all his Pro-"vinces, and brought to him, in compleat Armour; and thoſe he "kept,

with One thouſand five hundred Horſe, and Ten thouſand Foot) and in Ten Days Space, paſſing over Mount *Caucaſus*, he arrived at *Alexandria*, a

" kept, as well for Hoſtages, as Soldiers."— Many of his Commentators have made extraordinary fine political Remarks upon this; but none of them all, ſo far as I can find, have given themſelves a Moment's Trouble, to examine, whether it was true or not.— What a fine Time muſt *Alexander* have taken up, to ſend into all the Provinces of his wide-extended Empire? And what a vaſt Number of his Officers muſt have been employ'd for that purpoſe? But as this has been taken notice of, in the Criticiſm prefix'd to this Work, I ſhall paſs it by here. He tells us, immediately after, that " *Polyperchon* " reduced the Country call'd *Bubacene*."— Here is another Country altogether unknown, and unheard of. Some of his Commentators have imagined this to be the *Paretace* of *Arrian*; but others of them, have thought the ſame of his *Gabaza*, his *Xenippa*, and his *Naura*; and, after all, perhaps none of them is the ſame: however, the laſt bids the faireſt for it. Then he proceeds,— " The Country of *India* is reckon'd rich, not only in Gold, but all " manner of Jewels, *&c.*— The Soldiers Shields ſhone with Gold " and Ivory.— Therefore, that *Alexander* might not come ſhort of " thoſe, in Finery, whom he ſurpaſs'd in other Reſpects, he order'd " the Shields of his Soldiers, to be cover'd with Plates of Silver, " and the Bits of their Horſes Bridles to be made of Gold: The " Breaſtplates of ſome of them, he alſo adorn'd with Gold; of others, " with Silver."— *Alexander* might make his own Troops as gay as he pleaſed, ſo long as his *Perſian* Treaſure laſted; but he was no very good Oeconomiſt. He had made a Bonfire of whatever would burn, before; and now he ſeems reſolved to throw away the reſt, in uſeleſs Ornaments. " But this, ſays *Curtius*, was to imitate the " *Indians*."— Was it? He begun to imitate them betimes indeed! *Curtius* might, well enough, have ſuffered him to have enter'd their Country, and ſeen their Finery, before he had taken up their Faſhions. 'Tis ſtrange, that a Man's Mind ſhould alter ſo ſuddenly, without any viſible Occaſion. He had, but a little while before, ſet fire to all the glorious Furniture, which the *Perſians* had been ſo long treaſuring up, and his Army had run ſuch Hazard in gaining, becauſe he was afraid it ſhould enervate them; but now, his Conſcience is not ſo ſqueamiſh, and he gives them Golden Bridles, and Silver Suits of Armour, meerly becauſe the *Indian* Finery ſhould not put his Soldiers out of Countenance. Well, this *Curtius* is an excellent Caſuiſt! If *Alexander* have not Wit enough to give a Reaſon for any of his Actions, he is ſtill ready to ſupply him. But what knocks all theſe Stories o'th' Head, is, *Arrian*'s aſſuring us, that thoſe Parts of the Country of *India*, thro' which *Alexander* paſs'd, were deſtitute of Gold. *Arrian, lib.* v. *cap.* 4. But I ſhall defer all further Remarks of what he ſays upon this Head, till I come to write Obſervations on *Arrian*'s *Indian* Hiſtory.

City

City which he had cauſed to be built among the *Parapamiſæ*, when he made his firſt Expedition into *Bactria*. He diſplaced the Governor of that City, becauſe he ſeem'd not to have done his Duty; and drawing many Inhabitants thither, out of the neighbouring Country, and leaving ſuch of the *Macedonians* there, as were render'd unſerviceable, he appointed *Nicanor* their Ruler; but *Tyriaſpes* was made Governor of the Country of *Parapamiſæ*, and of the whole Province, as far as the River *Cophenius*. Thence, paſſing forwards to *Nicæa*, he ſacrificed to *Minerva*, and proceeded to the River *Cophenes*; from whence, diſpatching a Herald before, to *Taxiles*, and the other Princes on this Side the River *Indus*, to come forth and meet him, as he approach'd their Territories; *Taxiles*, and the reſt, hereupon, came and met him, with the moſt valuable [2] Preſents which *India* could furniſh; and beſides, they made him a Promiſe of Twenty-five Elephants. There, dividing his Forces, he diſpatch'd *Hephæſtion*, and *Perdiccas*, into the Country of [3] *Peucelaotis*, towards the River *Indus*, with the Troops of *Gorgias*, and

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[2] *Curtius* tells us, that "*Taxiles*, (whom he calls *Omphis*, *lib.* viii. *cap.* 12. 11.) preſented *Alexander* with Fifty-ſix Elephants, (I ſuppoſe, for his own Share) and Three thouſand Bulls: — and afterwards, with a Golden Crown, and Eighty Talents of coin'd Silver; and to all his Attendants, Crowns of Gold: and this Bounty, from a *Barbarian*, pleaſed the King ſo much, that he return'd him his own Preſents again, and made him one, of a Thouſand Talents, out of the Spoils which he had brought with him."— Some of this may be true, tho' moſt of it appears otherwiſe. *Plutarch* confirms the Story of *Alexander*'s Preſent of a Thouſand Talents to *Taxiles*; but *Arrian* contradicts that of the Fifty-ſix Elephants, and ſays, that *Taxiles*, and the reſt of the Princes with him, promiſed to ſend him no more than Twenty-five.

[3] The laſt Part of this Chapter, is wholly omitted by *Curtius*; only he tells us, *lib.* viii. *cap.* 10. 2. that "the King order'd *Perdiccas* and *Hephæſtion*, with a Detachment, as far as *Indus*, commanding them to build a Bridge of Boats, to paſs the whole Army over, and, in their Way, to ſubdue thoſe by Force, who refuſed to ſubmit upon fair Terms."

Clitus,

Clitus, and *Meleager*, beſides half of his auxiliary Horſe, and all his mercenary Horſe. Their Orders were, to receive the Surrender of all the Towns, thro' which they paſſed, or to force them thereto; and when they came to the River *Indus*, to make things ready for ferrying the Army over. *Taxiles*, and the reſt of the Princes of that Country, accompanied them in that Expedition; and when they came to the River, perform'd whatever *Alexander* had commanded. But *Aſtes*, Prince of *Peucelaotis*, endeavouring to revolt, loſt both the City into which he fled, and his own Life; for *Hephæſtion* took it, after Thirty Days Siege, and *Aſtes* being ſlain, the Government thereof was deliver'd to *Sangæus*, who flying from *Aſtes* ſome time before, had ſought Protection from *Taxiles*; which Action gain'd him ſo much Credit with *Alexander*, that he deputed him Ruler over the Country.

CHAP. XXIII.

ALEXANDER, then, with a Band of Targeteers, and thoſe of the auxiliary Horſe who followed not *Hephæſtion*, as alſo the Troop call'd the auxiliary Foot, and the Archers, and *Agrians*, and Equeſtrian Darters, march'd againſt the [1] *Aſpii*, the *Thyræi*, and *Araſaci*; and paſſing nigh the River *Choe*, thro' a Country rough and mountainous, when he had, with ſome Difficulty, croſs'd that River, he order'd his Foot to follow him at leiſure,

[1] The *Aſpii*, the *Thyræi*, and *Arſaci*, are either not taken notice of at all by *Curtius*, or ſo ſlightly, and by ſuch different Names, and Circumſtances in the Stories, that they have little Relation one to another. The River *Choe*, he ſeems to call *Choaſpes*, *lib.* viii. *cap.* 10. 22. *Blancard* thinks, theſe *Aſpii* ought to be *Apaſpaſii*. *Vide p.* 292.

while

while he, with all his Horſe, and Eight hundred heavy-arm'd *Macedonian* Targeteers, which he cauſed to mount on Horſeback, march'd forwards, with all ſpeed, becauſe he had received Information, that the *Barbarians* of that Country had retired to the Mountains, or withdrawn themſelves to Places of the beſt Strength, on purpoſe to oppoſe him. [2] When he approach'd the firſt of theſe Towns, he found the Inhabitants drawn up without the Walls; but he beat them back at the firſt Aſſault, and forced them to retire within their Gates: However, a Dart pierced his Armour, and wounded him in the Shoulder; but the Wound was ſlight, by reaſon of the Strength and Thickneſs of his Armour. *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagus*, and *Leonnatus* were both wounded in that Conflict. Then *Alexander* encamp'd againſt the Place, on that Side where he thought the Walls were weakeſt; and the next Day, as ſoon as it was light, eaſily made himſelf Maſter of the outward Wall, (for the Town was ſurrounded with a double Wall) whereupon the Beſieged retired to the inner one, where they ſtood for ſome time; but when the Scaling-Ladders were fix'd, and the Beſieged found themſelves every where ſo gall'd with their Darts, that they could endure it no longer, they

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[2] *Curtius* has cut this Story ſhort; and ſo he has ſerved all the reſt, from this Place, to the Concluſion of his Work. He only acquaints us, *lib.* viii. *cap.* 10. 4. *&c.* that "the King drew out a Party "of Light-Horſe, and order'd *Craterus*, with the Phalanx, to follow "him. In his March, he was encounter'd; and in the Skirmiſh, "drove his Enemies to their City. As ſoon as *Craterus* came up, "he commanded that not one ſhould be ſaved, but that a general "Aſſault ſhould be given, the Walls demoliſhed, and all put to the "Sword, to ſtrike Terror into the reſt of the *Barbarians*, who had not "yet felt the Force of the *Macedonian* Arms. Nevertheleſs, as he rode "round the Walls, he was wounded with an Arrow; but the Town "being taken, all were ſlain; and their Cruelty extended to the very "Houſes."— If my Reader can find any Reſemblance between theſe two Stories, I ſhall leave him to make a Compariſon between them. As for my part, I can find but little.

iſſued

iſſued ſuddenly out of their Gates, and fled to the Mountains. But the *Macedonians* purſuing hard after them, ſlew many in the Purſuit, and took many alive, who, becauſe of the exceeding Rage they had conceived againſt them, for the Wound given their King, were all put to Death: However, great Numbers eſcaped to the neighbouring Mountains. When they had laid that City level with the Ground, he led his Army to another, named [3] *Andaca*; which yielding upon Articles, he there left *Craterus*, with other Captains of Foot, to take all ſuch Cities by Force, as refuſed to ſubmit voluntarily, and to govern the whole Province, as it ſhould ſeem to him moſt convenient.

CHAP. XXIV.

THEN, [4] with his Targeteers, Archers, and *Agrians*, as alſo *Cænus*' and *Attalus*'s Troops, the *Macedonian Agema*, with almoſt four Troops of the auxiliary Horſe, and half of his Equeſtrian Archers, he directed his March towards the River *Euaſpla*, where the General of the *Aſpii*

[3] This is, undoubtedly, *Curtius*'s *Acadera*, *lib.* viii. *cap.* 10. 20. for ſome Impreſſions of that Author have it *Adaca*, which approaches very near *Arrian*'s *Andaca*; however, he tells us, the Inhabitants had burnt their City, and fled. But *Acidalius* cannot think that any way probable; for which Reaſon, he has made bold to alter the Original, and inſtead of *(uſta)* to ſubſtitute *vaſta*. This is, indeed, more likely; for *Arrian* aſſures us, they yielded to *Alexander* upon Articles; and if ſo, they had no occaſion to ſet fire to their City, and run away by the Light of it.

[4] I can find nothing in *Curtius*, which claims any manner of Affinity with the Contents of this Chapter; for which Reaſon, I ſhall paſs it over without Remark.

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lay, and in two Days time, by long Journeys, came to the City. The *Barbarians* no ſooner perceived his Approach, than they ſet it on fire, and fled to the Mountains; however, the *Macedonians* purſued, and made a great Slaughter of them, before they could reach theſe rugged, and almoſt inacceſſible Places of Retreat. *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagus*, viewing their General poſted on a little Hill, took with him a Party of Targeteers, and tho' their Number was far inferior to the Enemy, yet he advanced boldly, on Horſeback; but when he could proceed no further on Horſeback, by reaſon of the Steepneſs of the Hill, he left his Horſe with one of his Soldiers, and went forwards on Foot. When the *Indian* General ſaw him approach, he ruſh'd forwards, at the Head of his Men, and threw a Spear at *Ptolemy*, which ſtruck upon his Breaſt-plate, but could not pierce thro' his Armour; whereupon, *Ptolemy* thruſt him thro' the Thigh, and having ſlain him, ſtripp'd him of his Armour. The *Barbarians* who were upon the Spot, ſeeing their General fall, betook themſelves to Flight; but the Mountaineers, diſdaining that his dead Body ſhould be carried off by the Enemy, run to the Hill, and renewed the Conflict, by their Endeavours to reſcue it. But now *Alexander* himſelf approached, with thoſe Foot Forces, whom he had order'd to alight from Horſeback, who ruſhing, all at once, upon the *Barbarians*, with much Difficulty, drove them back to the Mountains, and ſo carried off the Body. *Alexander* then paſs'd one of theſe Mountains, and coming nigh the City call'd *Arigæus*, found it deſerted, and burnt by the Inhabitants. In the mean time, *Craterus* having finiſhed whatever was commanded him, return'd; and becauſe the Situation of this Place ſeem'd extreamly commodious, he gave Orders to *Craterus* for the rebuilding it, and that he ſhould people it with ſuch of the neighbouring Inhabitants as would come of their own

own accord, and with others out of the Army, who were become unfit for further Service. He, in the mean time, directed his March towards the Place where the *Barbarians* had fled, and coming to the Foot of a certain Mountain, encamp'd there; whence *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagus*, being ſent out to forage, and venturing ſomewhat further, ſtill, with a ſmall Party, to view the Enemy; at his Return, acquainted *Alexander*, that many more Fires appeared in the Camp of the *Barbarians*, than in his. *Alexander*, tho' he could make no ſure Gueſs at the Enemies Numbers, from the multitude of their Fires, yet being inform'd, that vaſt Crowds of them had reſorted thither, left one part of his Army there, to defend the Camp; and taking with him thoſe whom he deem'd fitteſt for his purpoſe, he no ſooner advanced within Sight of the Enemies Fires, than he divided his Forces into three Parts; one of which, he order'd, ſhould be commanded by *Leonnatus*, one of his Body-Guards, and this was compoſed of the Troops of *Attalus*, and *Balacrus*; the ſecond by *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagus*, in which were the Royal Targeteers, and the Cohorts of *Philip*, and *Philotas*, beſides Two thouſand Archers, and *Agrians*, and one half of his Horſe: The third Diviſion he led on himſelf, towards that part of the *Barbarian* Army, where they ſeem'd to ſtand the thickeſt.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

WHEN [1] they perceived the *Macedonians* approach towards them, (for they were poſted upon an Eminence) truſting in their Multitudes, and deſpiſing the ſmall Number of their Enemies, they deſcended into the plain Country; whereupon a dreadful Conflict enſued, wherein *Alexander* had the Victory: but *Ptolemy* was not to encounter thoſe on the Plain, but ſome who poſſeſs'd a ſteep Hill; wherefore he moved his Army to that Part, where the Aſcent ſeem'd the eaſieſt, and purpoſely forbore to ſurround the Hill, becauſe he would leave a Place for the Enemies Flight. There was alſo a terrible Battle on this Side, both by reaſon of the Diſadvantage of the Ground, on the part of the *Macedonians*, and becauſe the *Indians* of that Province, far excelled all the other *Indians*, in Military Exploits: However, they were at laſt driven down from the Mountain. And in the ſame manner *Leonnatus* behaved, with his Party; for he alſo beat the Enemy, and put them to Flight. *Ptolemy* tells us, that Forty thouſand Men were taken, and above Two hundred and thirty thouſand Head of Cattle, out of which, *Alexander* choſe the beſt, and largeſt, that he might ſend them into *Macedonia*,

[1] *Curtius* has not taken the leaſt notice of this Battle, which is ſtrange, becauſe it was the moſt remarkable one, except that againſt *Porus*, and the other againſt the *Malli*, which was fought in all *India*. *Juſtin*, and *Plutarch*, are alſo ſilent: but I wonder not at that; for the firſt was only an Abridger, and had not room for every thing; and it was none of *Plutarch's* Deſign, to write regular Hiſtories.

for

for a Breed; for they far excell'd the *Grecian* Cattle, both in Bulk and Beauty. Thence, *Alexander* moved towards the *Aſſaceni*, who were ſaid to have an Army of Twenty thouſand Horſe, and Thirty thouſand Foot, beſides Thirty Elephants, ready to take the Field. *Craterus* having re-edified the City, according to the Directions left him, return'd, and brought with him the heavy-arm'd Foot, as alſo ſuch Engines as are neceſſary in Sieges; whereupon *Alexander*, with his auxiliary Horſe, and his Equeſtrian Darters, *Cœnus'* and *Polyſperchon's* Troops, beſides a Thouſand Archers, and *Agrians*, proceeded in his March towards the *Aſſaceni*, and paſſing thro' the Territories of the *Guræi*, croſs'd the River of that Name, with much Difficulty, not only becauſe of its great Depth, and the Rapidity of the Stream, but by reaſon of the vaſt Numbers of round, and ſlippery Stones at the Bottom, which neither Horſe nor Man could tread upon with ſafety. As ſoon as the *Barbarians* perceived that *Alexander* was at hand, they durſt no longer continue in a Body, nor think of meeting him in the open Field; but diſperſing, betook them to their ſtrong Holds, where they hoped to defend themſelves, and fight with greater Advantage.

CHAP. XXVI.

ALEXANDER, therefore, firſt led his Army againſt [1] *Maſſaga*, the capital City of that Country; and drawing near it, the Inhabitants, led on

[1] This City is call'd *Mazaga*, by *Curtius*, *lib.* viii. *cap.* 10. 7. *Maſſaca* by *Diodorus*, *lib.* xvii. and *Maſoga* by *Strabo*, and in ſome Editions, *Magoſa*, *lib.* xv. *p.* 1022. *Curtius* ſays, "*Aſſacanus* was lately "dead, and the Government then in the Hands of his Mother *Cle-*

on by a Party of about Seven thouſand Mercenaries, from the inner Parts of *India*, advanced againſt the *Macedonians*, with a Deſign to aſſault their

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" *phes, lib.* viii. *cap.* 9. 22." whom *Juſtin* names *Cleophides, lib.* xii. *cap.* 7. *Arrian* takes no notice of his being dead, yet we hear of nothing that he did, towards the ſaving his capital City. Authors differ vaſtly in their Accounts of this Siege. *Curtius*, having given us a romantick Deſcription of the Walls, River, Rocks, Caves, and Mote, comes at laſt to tell us, that *Alexander* raiſed a Mount in the Ditch, to plant his Engines upon; which being done, he received a Wound in his Leg. However, pulling out the Arrow himſelf, he continued to give the neceſſary Directions.— Well, in Nine Days Time, the Soldiers pull'd down all the Suburbs, and with the Rubbiſh fill'd up the Ditch; and then raiſed Ramparts, and placed Towers upon them, which equall'd the Walls in Height. A Shower of Darts was then pour'd in upon the Inhabitants, which did great Execution; but they were chiefly aſtoniſh'd to ſee how theſe Towers moved, and imagined them actuated by ſome divine Power. However, the Darts ſhot from the Engines gall'd them ſo much, that deſpairing to hold the City, they retired into the Caſtle. But imagining themſelves alſo unſafe there, they diſpatch'd Embaſſadors to implore Pardon; which they eaſily obtain'd. Then came forth the Queen, with a ſplendid Train of Noble Women, all bearing Golden Goblets, full of Wine, in their Hands.— I cannot imagine how they came by them; for *Arrian* has already aſſured us, that *Alexander* found no Gold throughout all *India*; and as for the Wine, *Arrian* has alſo told us, *lib.* v. *cap.* 1. that no Part of *India* afforded Vines, but Mount *Meron*, near the City *Nyſa*.— " She brought her young " Son to *Alexander*, and not only obtain'd Pardon, but a Continuance " of her former Dignity: Tho' it is believed, her Beauty pleaded more " than her Eloquence, or the King's Inclinations to forgive. How- " ever, he tells us, ſhe bore another Son afterwards, and whoever " got it, it was named *Alexander*." *Juſtin* differs not much from *Curtius, lib.* xii. *cap.* 7. only he tells us, in plain Terms, that the Queen, by proſtituting her Body to *Alexander*, redeem'd her Realm; and was ever after that Time, call'd by the *Indians, the Royal Strumpet*.— *Plutarch* ſays, that " Some of the ſtouteſt of the *Indians*, " taking Pay of ſeveral Cities, undertook to defend them; and did " it ſo bravely, that they put *Alexander* to abundance of Trouble, " and Fatigue, till he, having made an Agreement with them, upon " the Surrender of a Place, fell upon them as they were marching " away, and put them all to the Sword." And he adds, " that this " ſingle Breach of Faith, was a perpetual Blemiſh to him, who, on " all other Occaſions, had managed his Wars with that Juſtice and " Honour which became him."— Thus have I laid four ſeveral Relations of one Siege, before my Reader; and ſhall leave him to chuſe, which pleaſes him beſt.

Camp:

Camp: Which *Alexander* perceiving, and finding that a Battle muſt then be fought, juſt under the Walls of the City, ſtrove to draw them further off, leſt if they were forced to fly, (as he imagined they would) the ſmall Space betwixt them and the City, would favour their Eſcape thither. Wherefore, as ſoon as he ſaw them preſſing forwards, he cauſed his *Macedonians* to retreat to a Hill, about ſeven Furlongs diſtant, where, he again made a Stand. The Enemy, encouraged by this Retreat of the *Macedonians*, haſted after them, with much Heat, in a diſorderly Manner: But when they were advanced within the Reach of their Darts, *Alexander* having given the appointed Signal, for his Soldiers to face about, the whole Army turn'd upon them, with great Rage. The Equeſtrian Darters, and *Agrians*, and Archers, were the firſt which engaged: He, with a choice Phalanx, followed in Order. The *Indians*, terrified with this ſudden, and unexpected Blow, no ſooner begun to feel their Fury, but they fled towards the City, leaving Two hundred dead behind them: The reſt ſecured themſelves within the Walls. The King, hereupon, moved his Army forward, to beſiege the Place, where he received a Wound in the Heel, with an Arrow; but planting his Engines the next Day, and making a Breach in the Walls, when the *Macedonians* endeavoured to ſtorm the City, the *Indians* received them ſo briskly, that *Alexander* commanded a Retreat to be ſounded: However, they attempted to mount the Breach again, with freſh Vigour, the next Day; having drawn a huge wooden Tower to the Place, out of which the Archers poured Showers of Arrows; beſides which, they ply'd the Beſieged with Store of Darts, from their Engines. But ſuch was the Reſiſtance of the *Indians*, that all their Endeavours that Day, were to no purpoſe. The *Macedonians* again attempting the ſame Place, the third Day, laid a Bridge over, from the wooden Tower to the

Top of the Breach, and thereby a Party of Targeteers enter'd the City, in the ſame Manner as they had, long before that Time, enter'd *Tyre*; and when, with the greateſt Joy imaginable, they crowded forwards upon the Bridge with too much haſte, it broke with their Weight, and all who were upon it, fell ſuddenly down with it: Which the *Barbarians* perceiving, and being thereby encouraged, they advanced with loud Shouts, and gall'd the *Macedonians*, from the Walls, with Stones and Darts, and all kinds of miſſive Weapons; whilſt others, iſſuing out from ſome ſmall Poſterns, between the Towers in the Wall, attack'd thoſe who were already ſtunn'd with their Fall, and ſlew them.

CHAP. XXVII.

ALEXANDER ſeeing this, immediately diſpatch'd thither *Alcetas*, with his Troop, to receive thoſe who were wounded, and recall thoſe who had aſſail'd the City, and ſtill made Reſiſtance, into the Camp: And on the fourth Day after, he raiſed another Bridge, from other Works againſt the Wall. The mercenary *Indians*, ſo long as their General ſurvived, always repulſed the *Macedonians*, with the utmoſt Bravery; but he happening to be ſlain with a Dart from an Engine, and many of his Soldiers being loſt, in the ſeveral Skirmiſhes, during a long continued Siege, and others render'd uſeleſs, and unfit for Service, by their Wounds, they ſent a Herald to *Alexander*. He, willing to prevent the Effuſion of Blood, and to preſerve ſuch ſtout Soldiers, agreed with them, (the mercenary *Indians*) that they ſhould enter into his Army, and ſerve under

under him. Whereupon, they coming forth from the City in Armour, encamp'd by themſelves, upon a little Hill, oppoſite to the *Macedonians*, with a full Reſolution to ſteal away, by Night, and return home, becauſe they would not fight againſt other *Indians*. *Alexander* having Intelligence of this, that very Night, ſurrounded the Hill, on which they lay encamp'd, with his Forces, and cut them all off; and afterwards, immediately took the City by Force, now void of Defendants, and therein, the Mother, and Daughter of *Aſſacenus*. Only Twenty-five of the *Macedonians* were ſlain, during the whole Siege. He then diſpatch'd *Cœnus* to *Bazira*, imagining that the Citizens, hearing of the Fate of the *Aſſaceni*, would immediately ſurrender. He alſo, at the ſame time, ſent *Attalus*, and *Alcetas*, and *Demetrius*, a Captain of Horſe, to [1] *Ora*, with Orders to ſurround that City with a Rampart, and lie before it, till he came. The Citizens ſeeing them approach towards them, made an Excurſion, but were beat back by the *Macedonians*, and, in a little time, confined within their Walls, by a Rampart. But the Affair of [2] *Bazira*, did not happen according to the Opinion of *Cœnus*; for the Citizens, truſting to the Strength of the Place, (for it was not only ſeated on an Eminence, but alſo ſurrounded with a ſtout Wall) gave him

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[1] The Story of this Siege, is contracted, by *Curtius*, into the Compaſs of a Nut-ſhell; for he only tells us, *lib.* viii. *cap.* 11. 1. that "*Polyperchon* was diſpatch'd by *Alexander* from *Mazaca* to *Ora*, who, "after a Skirmiſh with the Inhabitants, purſuing them to their "Walls, had the City ſurrender'd to him."— Had he ſerved all his Hiſtory in this manner, the whole had come into leſs Compaſs than one of his Ten Books.

[2] All that *Curtius* ſays of this Siege, is *lib.* viii. *cap.* 10. 22. "*Alex-*"*ander* having paſs'd the River *Choaſpe*, left *Cœnus* to beſiege a City, "which the Inhabitants call *Bezira*."— But whether *Cœnus* took it or no, he gives us no Account; nor do we hear one Word more of *Cœnus*, till after the taking the Rock *Aornus*.

no manner of Hopes of a Surrender: Whereupon, *Alexander* determined to march thither; but receiving News, that ſome neighbouring *Indian* Soldiers had convey'd themſelves into the City *Ora*, being diſpatch'd thither by *Abiſſarus*, for that purpoſe, he changed his Reſolutions, and march'd with his Army to *Ora*, ſending Orders to *Cænus* to raiſe a Fort over-againſt *Bazira*, and place ſuch a Garriſon therein, as ſhould reſtrain the Citizens from making Excurſions, and bring the reſt of his Forces to him. The Citizens, then, perceiving that *Cænus* had drawn off the greateſt part of his Troops, deſpiſing the ſmallneſs of the Number left to guard the Fort, made an Excurſion into the open Country; when a ſharp Battle enſued, wherein about Five hundred of them were ſlain, above Seventy taken Priſoners; and the reſt, who were beat into the City, durſt not attempt to make any more Excurſions. The Siege of *Ora* proved a Buſineſs of no great Difficulty, after the Arrival of *Alexander*; for at the firſt Aſſault made againſt the Walls, he carried the Place, and ſeiz'd all the Elephants, which he found therein, for the Uſe of his Army.

CHAP. XXVIII.

THE *Bizareans* hearing that *Ora* was taken by Storm, diſtruſting their Strength, fled out of the City in the dead of Night, and betook themſelves to a Rock call'd *Aornus*, for Safety; and many of the neighbouring *Barbarians* followed their Example, for they forſook their Villages, and eſcaped thither. This Rock, the moſt ſtupendous Piece of natural Strength in all that Country, was by the *Barbarians* deem'd impregnable; and there

was

was a Report, that even [1] *Hercules*, tho' he was the Son of *Jove*, was not able to reduce it. But whether any *Hercules*, either the *Theban*, the *Tyrian*, or the *Ægyptian*, ever penetrated ſo far as *India*, I cannot affirm for Truth, but am rather inclined to believe the contrary, becauſe whatever is difficult, or hard to be accompliſhed, Men, to raiſe the Difficulty ſtill the higher, have reported, That *Hercules* himſelf attempted it in vain: And indeed, it is my Opinion, that the Name of *Hercules* is only here uſed, by the *Indians*, to make the Danger ſeem unſurmountable. The Circuit of this Rock is ſaid to be Two hundred Furlongs; its Height, where it is loweſt, Eleven; 'tis only acceſſible by one dangerous Path, cut out by Hand, and has a fine Spring of pure Water, on the very Summit, which ſends a plentiful Stream down the Sides of the Hill; as alſo a Wood, with as much arable, and fertile Land, as to ſupply a Thouſand Men with Proviſions. *Alexander* hearing this, had a more than ordinary Ambition to make himſelf Maſter of the Place; and the common Tradition of *Hercules*'s fruitleſs Attempt upon it, inflamed him the more: Wherefore, having placed Garriſons

[1] *Curtius* tells us, "the Inhabitants thereabouts report, that the "Rock *Aornus* was beſieged, in vain, by *Hercules*; for he was "forced by an Earthquake, to raiſe his Siege, and depart." *Strabo*, towards the Beginning of his Fifteenth Book, *p.* 1008. *Edit. Caſaub.* ſays, that "when *Alexander*'s Soldiers had taken a certain Rock call'd "*Avernus*, at the firſt Aſſault, they boaſted, that *Hercules* had aſ-"ſaulted it thrice, and had been as often repulſed." *Arrian*, in this Place, plainly ſhews the Falſity of *Curtius*'s Story: and beſides, I would gladly know, how the Inhabitants thereabouts, came to hear of the Name of *Hercules*, who was a *Greek?* but even that, is eaſily ſolved by *Arrian*, and *Strabo* too; for they tell us, over and over, that all the Stories of *Hercules*' and *Bacchus*'s *Indian* Exploits, were only Fictions of the *Macedonians*, who were ambitious of raiſing *Alexander*'s Glory above them. See *Arrian*, *lib.* v. *cap.* 1. and *Strabo*, *lib.* xi. *p.* 771. What the true *Indian* Name of this Rock was, we no where find. *Aornus* was undoubtedly given it by the *Greeks*.

in *Ora*, and *Maſſaga*, for the Defence of the Country, he ſent a new Colony into *Bazira*; and *Hephæſtion*, and *Perdiccas*, by his Orders, repeopled another City, named *Orobates*, and having furniſh'd it with a Garriſon, march'd forwards, to the River *Indus*; where, when they arrived, they prepared every thing for the laying a Bridge over it, as *Alexander* had commanded them. He then conſtituted *Nicanor*, one of his Friends, Governor of the whole Country on this Side the River, and moving that Way himſelf, had the City [2] *Peuceliotis*, not far from it, deliver'd up to him; into which, having placed a Garriſon, under the Command of *Philip*, he proceeded to take many other ſmall Towns ſeated upon that River; the two Princes of that Province, *Cophæus* and *Aſſagetes*, attending him. He arrived at laſt at [3] *Embolina*, a City ſeated not far from the Rock *Aornus*, where he left *Craterus*, with a part of his Army, to gather what Stores of Corn he could, into that City, and to provide himſelf with all other Neceſſaries for a long Continuance there; that if he was not able to reduce the Rock at firſt, either by Aſſault, or Stratagem, he might, at leaſt, weary them out with a long Siege, and reduce them by Famine. Then, with his Ar-

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[2] No mention is made in *Curtius*, either of the reducing the City of *Peuceliotis*, or of the repeopling *Orobates*.

[3] *Curtius* gives us the Story of *Alexander*'s Arrival at *Embolina*, after the reducing *Aornus*; but tells us, *lib.* viii. *cap.* 12. 1. that as "he was on his Way thither, he received Intelligence, that ſome "narrow Paſſes, thro' which he was obliged to march, were block'd "up by one *Eryx*,— *Diodorus*, *lib.* xvii. *p.* 557. calls him *Aphrice*— "with Twenty thouſand Men; whereupon he committed the heavy-"arm'd Troops to *Canus*, to bring them up at leiſure: Himſelf, with "his Slingers, and Archers, marching before, eaſily diſlodged the "Ambuſcades, and clear'd the Way for the reſt." Then the *Indians*, whether thro' ſome old Grudge to their Captain, or in hopes of gaining the Conqueror's Favour, ſeiz'd *Eryx*, and having cut off his Head, ſent it, and his Armour, as a Preſent to *Alexander*.

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chers, *Agrians*, *Cænus*'s Troop, and the choiceſt, beſt arm'd, and moſt expeditious Foot out of the whole Army, beſides Two hundred Auxiliary Horſe, and a Hundred Equeſtrian Archers, he march'd towards the Rock, and on the firſt Day choſe a Place convenient for an Encampment; but the Day after, pitch'd his Tents much nigher.

CHAP. XXIX.

IN the mean while, ſome of the neighbouring Inhabitants[1] came to him, and promiſed to ſhew him a Way, whereby the Rock might be ſtorm'd,

[1] "While *Alexander* was viewing this Rock, and uncertain which "Way he ſhould attack it, *Curtius* tells us, *lib.* viii. *cap.* 11. 3. that "a certain old Man, with two of his Sons, offer'd their Service to "him, promiſing to ſhew him how he might take it, provided he "was well rewarded for his Pains. Whereupon, *Alexander* pro-"miſed him Eighty Talents of Silver, and diſpatch'd him, with one "of his Sons, (keeping the other for a Pledge) till he ſhould perform "his Promiſe. He alſo commanded *Mullinus*, his Secretary, to at-"tend him, with a Detachment lightly arm'd."—Thus far the Story runs glib enough, tho' *Mullinus* is a Name altogether unknown, and ſhould, perhaps, be *Eumenes*, for we know he was *Alexander*'s Secretary. See *Arrian*, *lib.* v. *cap.* 24. But, ſure, if the old Man received ſo prodigious a Reward, he ought to have done ſomething for it: but, what is ſtrange, we have not one Word either of him, or his two Sons, or even of the Secretary, afterwards. Perhaps they lay down to take a Nap, till the Siege was over.— However, he tells us, "the Attack was made by another Detachment, above "Seven Days after."—This is not the only Inconſiſtency in the Story of this old Man, and his Sons; for "their Deſign, he tells us, *lib.* viii. "*cap.* 11. *ſ.* was to amuſe the *Indians*, by fetching a Compaſs quite "round the Rock."—The old Fellow's chief Deſign ſeems to have been, to trick *Alexander* out of his Money; for that they could not go round it, is evident from what *Curtius* himſelf adds afterwards, *lib.* viii. *cap.* 11. 12. *(viz.)* that the Soldiers, who loſt their Hold, in climbing up the Rock, dropp'd directly into the River *Indus*,

ſtorm'd, and taken without much Trouble. With theſe, he diſpatch'd *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagus*, with the *Agrians*, and other light-arm'd Soldiers, and choice Targeteers, giving them ſtrict Orders, that as ſoon as ever they found they had gain'd the Top of the Rock, they ſhould intrench themſelves ſtrongly, and ſhew a Signal thereof, to thoſe below. *Ptolemy* long ſtruggled, in a Path rugged, and dangerous; but at laſt, (unperceived by the *Barbarians*) gain'd the Summit, and having ſurrounded the Place with a Rampart, and Ditch, took care to hoiſt up a burning Torch, on that Part of the Hill where it might be the moſt eaſily diſcerned: Which being perceived by *Alexander*, he, the next Day, attempted to ſtorm the Rock; but by reaſon of the vigorous Defence of the *Barbarians*, and the Diſadvantage of his Station, he was able to effect nothing. When the *Indians* ſaw that his Efforts on that Side were vain, they turn'd their whole Force againſt *Ptolemy*, and a dreadful Conflict happen'd, the *Indians* being reſolved to demoliſh the Rampart they had thrown up for their Security, and *Ptolemy*, with all his Might, endeavouring to preſerve it; but the *Barbarians*, at laſt, finding themſelves gall'd by the *Macedonian* Archers, retreated, by Night, to their former Station. In the

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Indus. *Curtius* is guilty of a vaſt Error, which unhinges the whole Story; for he declares, *lib.* viii. *cap.* 11. 7. "that on one Side of this "Rock run the River *Indus*; on the other, were deep Holes, filled "with Water and Mud."—— 'Tis plain then, that *Alexander*, and his Army, lay encamp'd on the Side where the Holes were, becauſe he order'd Trees to be cut down, to fill them up, which took him up ſeven Days. Then he made his firſt Attack;— And where ſhould he make it from, but the Place which he had levell'd for that purpoſe? otherwiſe, he was doing nothing, all that while.— But then, he aſſures us, that "the Soldiers which loſt their Hold, "fell from the ſteep Rocks, headlong into the River."— That is, they climb'd up on one Side, and fell down on the other, without ever gaining the Top.— If *Arrian*'s Story be not much more true, it is [illegible]aſt, much more probable.

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mean while, *Alexander* diſpatch'd an *Indian*, whom he knew to be truſty, and fit for his purpoſe, with Letters to *Ptolemy*, wherein he adviſed him, that whenever he perceived him to ſtorm the Rock below, he ſhould not be ſatisfied only to maintain his preſent Poſt, but attack the Enemy, at the ſame time, above, that ſo they, being all in Confuſion, might not know how to defend themſelves. But he moving his Camp, as ſoon as it was Day-light, led on his Army to the Place where *Ptolemy* had before aſcended, unobſerved; being ſatisfied within himſelf, that if he could conquer the Difficulties of that Aſcent, and join his Forces with *Ptolemy*, the Rock itſelf would ſoon be gain'd; which accordingly happen'd: For even till Noon, there was a terrible Conflict between the *Macedonians* and *Indians*, the one Party ſtriving to aſcend by Force, the other to drive them down; but the former ſtill perſiſted in their Reſolutions to puſh forward, and one Party always ſuccoured or ſucceeded another, whilſt they drew back and refreſh'd themſelves. They labour'd thus till almoſt Night, and at laſt gain'd the Top, and join'd with their Friends. Then they made a freſh Attack upon the Rock, with all their Forces; but neither could they yet ſucceed this Way, and ſo that whole Day was ſpent. The next Morning, as ſoon as Day-light appeared, he order'd each of his Men to go into the neighbouring Wood, and cut down an hundred Poles, or Stakes, which being all brought together, a huge Rampart was thereby raiſed, from the Level of that Part of the Hill where their Entrenchment was, againſt the higher Part of the Rock, poſſeſs'd by the Enemy, that ſo they might, from thence, gall them with their Darts and Arrows; and while the whole Army was buſied about this Work, he was not only a nice Obſerver, but a great Encourager of them,

praiſing thoſe who forwarded it with Vigour and Alacrity, and cauſing thoſe to be puniſhed, who were ſlothful, and unactive, in their reſpective Stations.

CHAP. XXX.

THE Army carried on the Rampart, the Length of a full Furlong, the firſt Day; and on the morrow, by poſting his Slingers, and Engineers on that Part, already finiſhed, he repell'd the Excurſions of the *Indians* upon the Labourers; ſo that the whole *Agger* was perfected in three Days. But on the fourth, when ſome *Macedonians* had begun to build a Mount oppoſite to the Rock, which was deſigned to be of equal Height therewith, *Alexander* immediately march'd thither, and upon viewing it, determined to prolong the Rampart that far. But then, the [1] *Barbarians* were ſo terrified, and aſtoniſhed, at the unaccoun-

[1] The Story of the Surrender of this Rock, is much better told here, than in *Curtius*; for he affirms, *lib.* viii. *cap.* 11..19. that "*Alexander*, ſeeing no Hopes, nor Appearance of gaining that impregnable Place, laid aſide all Reſolutions of attacking it again; yet, nevertheleſs, he continued ſomething of a formal Siege, to amuſe the Defendants. He block'd up all the Paſſages to it, was continually moving his Engines, and relieving thoſe who were upon Guard. Which Obſtinacy, cauſed the *Barbarians* to begin to banquet, and carouſe, and play upon their Muſick.—— They had had much more Reaſon for their Mirth, if his Back had been turn'd.—— "This they perform'd for two Days, and as many Nights; but on the third Night, that Noiſe ceaſed, and Torches were obſerved to be fix'd all along the Declivities, which the *Barbarians* had lighted, to aſſiſt them in their Flight, over the craggy Rocks. The King, thereupon, not without Wonder, ſent out "*Balacrus*,

unaccountable Boldneſs of the *Macedonians*, who had, now, juſt finiſhed their Mount, and extended the Rampart to it, that they no longer truſted to the natural Strength of their Rock, but ſending a Herald to *Alexander*, promiſed, if he would grant them certain Conditions, they would ſurrender it into his Hands. Their real Drift was, to ſpin out that whole Day, in agreeing upon Articles, and as ſoon as Night came, to ſteal down unperceived, and return every one to his own Dwelling. This Reſolution of theirs, coming to *Alexander's* Knowledge, he allow'd them a ſufficient Space to deſcend, by calling off the Guards, which ſurrounded them, and himſelf tarried there, till the *Barbarians* begun to deſcend. Then, taking with him about Seven hundred of his Guards, and Targeteers, he firſt enter'd the Rock, which the Enemy had deſerted, and thoſe *Macedonians*, by helping one another, climb'd up after him. Having thus taken Poſſeſſion, the other *Macedonians*, on a certain Signal, fell upon the *Barbarians*, and cut many of them off; and many others, being ſeiz'd with a pannick Fear in their Flight, fell down headlong from the Precipices, and periſhed. *Alexander* having thus gain'd the Rock, which had been too hard a Task for *Hercules*, offer'd Sacrifice thereon, and furniſhed it with a Garriſon, under the Command of [2] *Siſicottus*, who, long before that Time,

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" *Balacrus*, to diſcover what he could of the Poſture of the Enemy. " who returned with the certain and joyful News, of the Flight " of the Beſieged, *&c.*"— This Story is liable to many Exceptions; for firſt, What could induce the *Indians* to fly, when no Enemy was likely to hurt them? and, ſecondly, How could they propoſe to eſcape by Flight, when *Alexander* had block'd up all the Avenues to it?

[2] *Curtius* calls him *Siſaoſtus*, *lib.* viii. *cap.* 11. 25. but tells us not who, or what he was, nor what he had done, to merit that Command.

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had fled from *India*, to *Beſſus*, in *Bactria*; and when *Alexander* enter'd that Country, had done him great Service in the Conqueſt thereof. He then, deſcending from the Rock, march'd into the Territories of the [3] *Aſſaceni*; for he had heard, that the Brother of *Aſſacenus*, with ſome Elephants, and a vaſt Body of the neighbouring *Barbarians*, had fled into the Mountains there; and when he arrived at the City *Dyrta*, found both that, and all the Country round, entirely deſtitute of Inhabitants; but the next Day, he diſpatch'd *Nearchus*, with a Thouſand Targeteers, and thoſe *Agrians* who were light-arm'd, and *Antiochus* with Three thouſand Targeteers more, to ſearch all the Country round, and try if they could catch any of the Inhabitants, from whom they might learn the Cuſtoms of the Natives, their Manner of making War, and the Number of their Elephants. He himſelf proceeded on his March towards the River *Indus*, having ſent his Army before him, to level the Road, which would otherwiſe have been impaſſable. Having then taken ſome of the *Barbarians*, he underſtood that the Inhabitants of that Country were fled to [4] *Bariſades*, for their Security, but that

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[3] No notice is taken of *Alexander*'s ſecond March into the Country of the *Aſſaceni*, by *Curtius*; nor have we one Word of all the Contents of the remaining Part of this Chapter; only he tells us, *lib.* viii. *cap.* 12. 4. that "in Sixteen Days, *Alexander* march'd from "that Place (the Rock *Aornus*) to the River *Indus*."— This may ſeem ſtrange to ſome, becauſe he had aſſured us before, that the River *Indus* run ſo near the Rock, that many of his Men dropp'd down, and were drown'd in it.— However, this may be ſaid in his Defence, That the Rock *Aornus* was near the Head of that River; and the King was to march with his Army, Sixteen Days Journey down the Stream, to the Place where *Perdiccas*, and *Hephæſtion* had prepared a Bridge for their Paſſage over.

[4] *Freinſhemius*, in his Remarks upon *Curtius*, *lib.* viii. *cap.* 13. thinks this to be the ſame, whom *Arrian*, elſewhere, calls *Abiſſares*, and *Ambiſares*.

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they had left their Elephants in the Paſtures near the River *Indus*; upon which Intelligence, he order'd them to be his Guides to the Places where the Elephants were. Some of the *Indians* of this Country are expert at hunting them, and were therefore eſteem'd by *Alexander*, who then went in queſt of thoſe Beaſts: Two of the Number of which, whilſt they were endeavouring to ſeize them, tumbled down from the Rocks, and periſhed; the reſt were taken, and being mounted by the *Indians*, were conveyed ſafe to the Army. He alſo found a full-grown Wood nigh the River, which he order'd to be cut down by his Soldiers, and Veſſels to be built therewith, which being launch'd into the River, He, and his Forces, were thereby convey'd to the Bridge, which *Hephæſtion* and *Perdiccas* had already built.

The End of the Firſt Volume.

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